

BURMA

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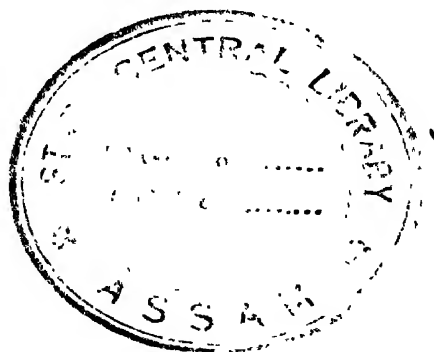
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

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Burma and the Shan States," &c., &c.*

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PREFACE

THE country of Burma and the Burmese people are as attractive as any in the world, and they are a delight to the eye of those who have come across India. There is no caste in Burma, and there is no grovelling. They are self-confident without being supercilious; they are combative without being warlike; they are conspicuously lazy, but they are capable of great feats of endurance. Their country varies from flatlands, a few feet above the sea-level to wild jungles and formidable mountains, with an island archipelago that can challenge comparison with anywhere.

For centuries they did nothing but what their rulers told them. If they were left to themselves they would be content to sport with Amaryllis in the shade, but their country is too full of promise of wealth to permit that.

Their national history is as baffling as they are themselves. It is concerned with nothing but the kings, and a very great many of these were not worth the trouble. To get any idea of the past we have to turn to the early European adventurers, and their narratives show that the people have changed little. The experiences of our first envoys to Burma confirm the impression.

All the authorities on Burma have been consulted in this story. The writer is prepared to be told that parts

of the narrative are flippant. If so, it is not un-Burmese, and at any rate he will have said it first.

The most usually accepted Yāzawin is the Hman-nan, compiled about a hundred years ago, but there is also the Kônbaungset, which is the work of a student rather than of a courtier. The Talaing Chronicles serve as a corrective to the biased versions of the purely Burmese history, and all stand in need of verification from the *sit-tanś*, the local records and inscriptions and, particularly, from the *thamaings*, the pagoda Chronicles, which are to be found in all the famous shrines. These corroborate, upset, or qualify the statements of the formal histories, but the handling and marshalling of these will have to be left to a Burman historian, for they would too greatly expand and complicate a work such as this.

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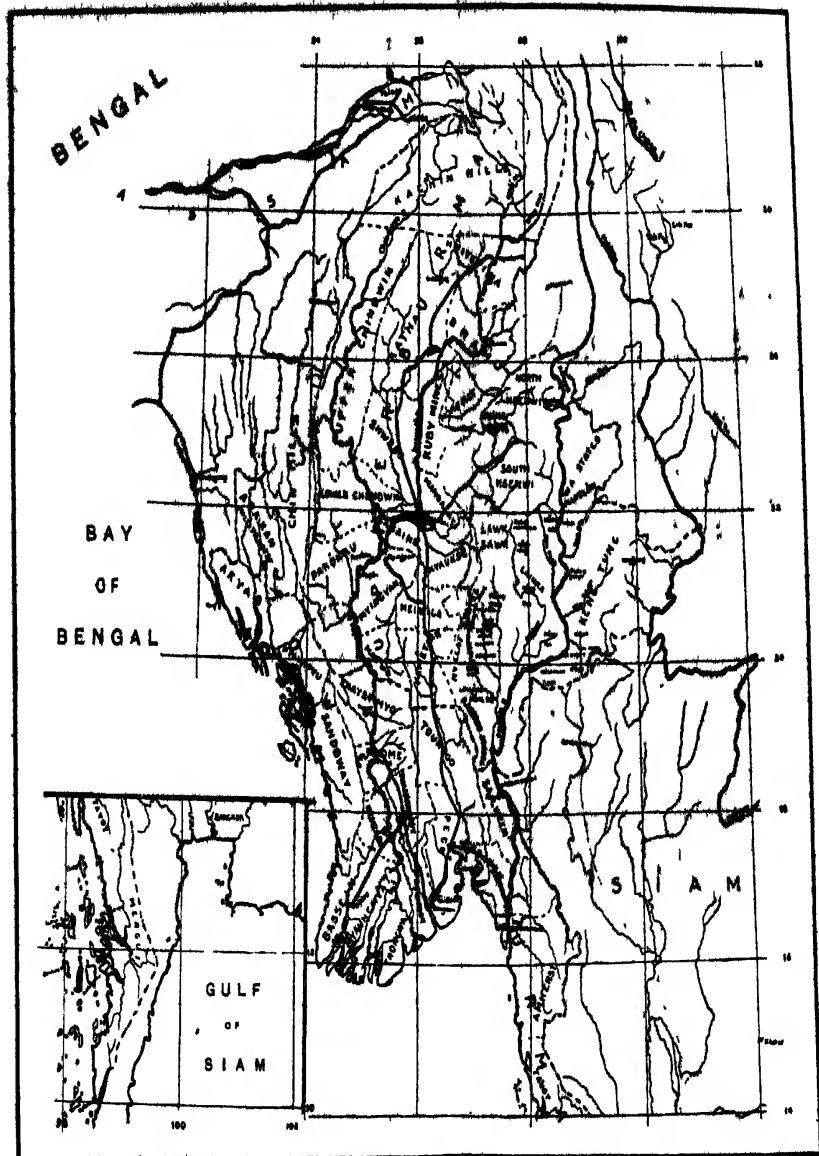
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BURMA (UPPER AND LOWER)—FROM A TRACING BY THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, FOUNDED ON A MAP PUBLISHED BY THE SURVEY OF INDIA, WITH RECENT ADDITIONS BY SIR GEORGE SCOTT.

BURMA

CHAPTER I

LEGENDARY

THE Burmese have a national history which is called the Mahā Yāzawin, the Royal Kingly Chronicle. There have been not a few Yāzawins, but that which is accepted is the Hman-nan Yāzawin, the Chronicle of the Glass, or Mirror Palace. This was compiled, as a digest of earlier annals, in 1829, shortly after the First Burmese War, and has been published, in translation, by the Clarendon Press. The earlier histories suffered from the century-long wars between the Burmese and the Talaings, and the detachment of the Arakanese. They have lapses, caused by rebellions, proscription, massacres, and reincarnation.

As history, the Mahā Yāzawin is rather vexatious. There is a terrible mass of dry detail, not much more interesting than a catalogue. It is a Chronicle of Kings, and disdains any other text. Quite commonly there is nothing to be recorded about the sovereign except the day of the week on which he was born—every Burman has a birthday once a week, and takes his personal name from it—and signs and wonders which signalized his death. There is no common herd so common as the mass of the Burmese people if we trust only to the Mahā Yāzawin.

The Royal History is really a Court Circular, enlivened, especially in earlier times, by fantasies like those of the

Arabian Nights, and qualified by suggestions of the parish magazine.

Everything centres round the king. Most of the kings had large—very large—families, but as the next king usually began by killing nearly all of his nearer relations for prudential reasons, this is commonly taken for granted, and we get few details. The princes and high officials were bad lives from the actuarial point of view, and therefore they are only hinted at for the sake of the atmosphere.

The chronicler starts with the determination to bring all the kings of Burma down in direct succession from the Solar and Sekya kings, to whose house the Buddha Gaudama belonged. This is not always easy when there is an upstart monarch, and that is where the Grimm's Fairy Tales part comes in. All the kings who passed beyond middle age devoted themselves to pious works, and so we have the parish magazine details.

The Burmese start with a system of the universe, which is claimed to be their own, but is really a modification of that of the Hindus. Their name for the world of man, as distinguished from a permanent future state, is *Lawka*, and this implies alternate destruction and reproduction. A *lawka* is a world cycle, an entire revolution of nature. The world is being constantly destroyed and reproduced, but each *lawka* lasts an incalculable number of years, and it is only in the last quarter of the revolution that man appears upon earth. Then a Buddha descends to revive the knowledge of the law, which is sempiternal, without beginning or end, no matter that out of sixty-four worlds, fifty-six have been destroyed by fire, seven by water, and one by wind.

The world in which we live is called Badda, and has been especially favoured, for there have been four Buddhas, and when the present dispensation of Shin Gaudama shall have passed away there will be another, called Arimadéya.

• As for the topography, there is Mount Meru, called by the Burmese, Myemmo Taung, in the centre and round it four great islands in the Thamôddaya Sea. The race of man dwells in the southern island, and it is only there that the Buddhas come. Each of the great islands has five hundred small ones round about it, and it is in these that the English and other nations live. The Indian heretics occupy the southern island, called Zabudipa, or Zambudipa, but it is in the *Ashé Pyi*, the eastern country, that the Burmese are established, and the east is the quarter of honour.

The first king of the world was styled Mahāthamada, and the Burmese kings, up to the end, retained all his titles, and therefore claimed to rank above all others. Moreover, they dated from the creation of the world, whereas the small islanders have nothing so definite to their credit.

In a palm-leaf manuscript life of Alaungpayā, the founder of the last Burmese dynasty, it is asserted :

“ There were 252,556 Solar Kshatriya kings, who were directly descended from Manu, the Mahāthamada. If we begin from Okkā mukho, the son of Okkā karaja, there were 82,013. All these kings reigned, in regular succession, in Missimadetha (Northern India). Some time before the birth of Shin Gaudama, the most noble of these 334,659 princes, Pansālaraja, who ruled over the two countries of Kosala and Pansāla, asked the king of the Koliyas for the hand of his daughter in marriage. Pansāla Raja's letter was not couched in language which pleased the King of the Koliyas, so he declared war. He was unwise, for the result was the defeat of the Sakivamsa, Solar King of the Koliyas, and he lost the cities of Davadaha, Koliya, and Kapilavastu.

“ Upon this, Abhi Raja, a Sakivamsa prince, marched away with an army to Burma and founded Tagaung, or Sankassa, and established himself there as king. When

Abhi Raja died, his two sons, Kanrāza-gyi and Kanrāza-ngē divided the kingdom between them. The elder ruled over Dhannawadi, or Arakan, and the younger over Tagaung."

This and the banalities of the Mahā Yāzawin, the Royal Chronicle of Kings, are all we have dealing with the early history of Burma. There is no national epic like the Mahā Bhārata, or the Rāmāyāna of India. These are, no doubt, as vaguely historical as the Iliad or the Odyssey, but they are framed on the traditions of the people and the ballads of the minstrels.

In comparison with the drama of the Pandāvas and the Kaurāvas, the Mahā Yāzawin has nothing but a dreary chronicle of names and dates with personal notes, which seem to us grotesque, or at any rate eccentric.

Thus of Mahā Thambawa, the founder of the Prome dynasty, beyond the fact that he was blind and would have been drowned at birth had it not been that his mother, the Queen, concealed him, it is merely recorded that he reigned six years, that he was born on a Monday, and at his death were heard seven horrible noises. The days of birth and the prodigies which marked the death of kings had a special fascination for the compiler of the Royal Chronicle. When Sula Thambawa, who succeeded his twin brother, whose name in Pali signifies "the Great origin," died after a reign of thirty-five years, it is recorded that his birthday was also a Monday, and at his death the sun was eclipsed for seven whole days.

Duttabaung, the son of Mahā Thambawa, then succeeded, and founded the great city of Thāré Kettāra, east of the modern Prome, and having reigned seventy years, died at the age of one hundred and five. He was born on a Tuesday, and at his death, the water of the rivers changed their natural course and ran upwards to the hills from which they came; the shade of the sun

turned from north to south, and seven great noises were heard in the heavens. Probably an allegory for massacres.

Duttabaung is regarded with great veneration by the Burmese. A well near Prome is pointed out as having been dug by him, and water from it is presented as a great honour to notable visitors. According to the ancient chronicles the city wall had thirty-two large and twenty-three small gates, and was full of splendid buildings, with three royal palaces adorned with gilt spires. Thāré Kettara was abandoned in the second century of the Christian era, and the site is now ricefields and swamp, with the half-dozen villages that cultivate them, but there are the remains of formidable walls, built of massive bricks a foot and a half long, half this in width, and three inches thick, and the traces of embankments and pagodas, walled enclosures, and burial grounds, extending for about ten miles in every direction from Hmawza railway station as a centre.

Prome was therefore a very considerable town, and the cold indifference to it shown by the Mahā Yāzawin can only be attributed to the fact that its inhabitants were not the real Burmese, though Kettara is the Burmanized form of Kshatriya, the Solar kings, from whom the rulers of Burma claim to have been descended. Thāré Kettara is said to have been founded a hundred and one years after the Nirvana of the Buddha, that is to say, in 443 B.C. The kingdom lasted a very long time, for it is mentioned by the famous Chinese pilgrims who visited India in A.D. 629. They, Yüan Chwang (Hiuen Tshang) and I Tsing specifically say: "Southward from this, and close to the sea-coast, there is a country called Sh'li Ch'a-to-lo (Shrikshafta)." The neighbourhood, too, is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodesh, and the Irrawaddy River, on which the modern Prome stands, is regarded as only second to the Ganges as a means of washing away sin.

The conclusion, therefore, is that Thāré Kettara was, throughout its existence, more connected with India than what may be called, during that period, 'Burma Proper'. The excavations, carried on in a rather small way for want of funds, in what is now called Yathé-myo (the City of the Hermit), all seem to prove this.

Duttabaung, notwithstanding that he was enthroned by the King of the Nats (spirits), and presented with a magic spear, a white elephant, the emblem of universal sovereignty in Za[m]budipa, a drum, and a great bell, fell from grace, for it is recorded that he forcibly took possession of lands dedicated to a monastery. Misfortune then came upon him, for having gone to sea, the vessel in which he sailed was wrecked at Nagarit (now called Cape Negrais), in the whirlpool which the sea-dragon creates there. He deserved it for going to sea at that time of life.

Duttabaung was succeeded by his son Duttaran, concerning whom it is merely recorded that he was born on a Wednesday, and that seven thunderbolts fell when he died, after a reign of twenty-two years.

After him came eighteen kings between A.D. 193 and 637, whose birthdays and the prodigies that marked their death are all that is told about them. The end of Thāré Kettara is not to be learnt from the Mahā Yāzawin. There is a deal of Owen Glendower's skimble-skamble stuff that drove Hotspur from his faith. The last king recorded is Thupinya, otherwise Nāgaya Sein-na. When he died a gust of wind carried off a peasant's corn-sieve. The cultivator ran after it, bawling: "Oh, my corn-sieve, my corn-sieve." The townsfolk heard his shouts, and did not know what the alarm was about, so they started a clamour of: "Army of the corn-sieve; soldiers of the corn-sieve." Consequently they divided themselves into factions, who afterwards formed different nations—the Pyu, the Kanran, and the Mramma. The Mramma were

the Burmese, and the one interesting point in the tale is that this is the first mention of them. To the above three are usually added the Sak or Thet, who were a Chin tribe, and quite recent census returns still record a handful of people who speak Thet.

At any rate there was civil war, which is treated in very elliptic fashion in the Chronicles. The Pyu and the Kanran were the chief antagonists, and after eleven years of bickering, and perhaps fighting, the favourite test of early Burmese history was resorted to, and each side built a pagoda. The Pyu finished theirs first, and the Kanran went off to the west to the neighbourhood of a settlement of their own tribesmen in Southern Arakan.

The Pyu seem, in any case, to have been the more powerful sept, for Mahā Tham̐bawa, the founder of the Prome dynasty, married a Queen of the Pyu, who held the country east of Prome. Her name was Nang Hkam, which suggests that she was a Shan, whereas the Kanran were southern Chins, of the Arakan Hills, with perhaps a mixture of Karens.

After the Kanran left, the Pyu started fighting among themselves. One section of them, in the broken, hilly country south-east of Prome, was attacked by the Môn, or Talaings, and driven west of the Irrawaddy. Their old rivals, the Kanran, promptly drove them north to Mindôn, north of Thayetmyo, and from there they drifted farther north, and finally, after thirteen years' wandering, settled down on the east bank of the Irrawaddy, and under their king, Thamôddarit, founded the city of Pagān. This would seem to have been in the year 108 of our era. There is then a list of kings who did nothing in particular, or at any rate worth recording, ending in Anawrat'a, with whom Burmese history proper begins in A.D. 1010, according to Phayre, but more probably 1044.

In the meantime, the Tagaung settlement had practically vanished. There exist to the present day traces of a

great walled city, but it seems probable that it was Shan, rather than Burmese. Undoubtedly emigrants from India came there in the centuries before Christ, but Abhi Raja is about as fanciful a person as Brut, the descendant of the *pious* Aeneas, without any of the romantic attributes of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

When Abhi Raja died, as we have said, the elder son, Kan Rāja-gyi, following the Borough English custom of the Tibeto-Burman peoples, marched off to seek his fortune, and settled first in the Chindwin Valley, probably at Kalé, and afterwards over the hills in Arakan, where he established that kingdom, the oldest branch of the Burmese race.

Kan Rāja-ngè remained King of Tagaung, and was succeeded by thirty-one descendants. Then there was, in the times of the Buddha Gaudama, a fresh accession of immigrants from India under Dāja Raja, and sixteen kings succeeded him. But for the whole fifty-one of them, little more is recorded than the length of their reigns.

It seems clear that Tagaung was dominated by the surrounding Shans, from Mōng Maw and later from Mōng Kawng (the modern Mogaung), as well as from the east, and perhaps still more by successive waves of Kachins,

The last king of the Kan Rāja-ngè line, Bheinaka, was overthrown and expelled by the invasion of tribes called Tarôk and Taret, from Gandalarit, which, no doubt, is the modern Chinese province of Yün-nan, and the invaders were Tai or Shans.

The last of the Dāja Raja succession, Thado Mahā Rāja, had no son, but his brother-in-law was elected king, and from him was descended, with fanciful jungle details, Mahā Thambawa, the blind founder of the Prome dynasty.

Thus the Mahā Yāzawin proves to its own satisfaction the descent of the kings of Burma from the Kshatriyas. Where the people came from is not a matter with which it concerns itself at all.

One is reminded of the remark of Mouhot about the Cambodians: "All traditions being lost, the natives invent new ones, according to the measure of their capacity." Oriental Court Circulars have dogmatic principles, and steadily assume that, as long as the kings are recorded, the doings of the people may be taken for granted and, at any rate, do not matter.

Arakan may be dismissed summarily. The Mahā Yāzawin gives a list of two hundred and twenty-seven kings between 2666 B.C. and A.D. 1782, when the country was finally annexed to Burma. It is unnecessary to consider the dates, names, or the number of the kings. The abrupt range of the Arakan Yōma shuts off Arakan from the rest of Burma, and it had practically nothing to do with Burmese history, except for occasional raids and counter-raids, alarums and excursions.

Nevertheless it may be granted that the Arakanese language is the nearest to the ancient form of Burmese speech; as it exists, it is a very pronounced dialect, but the people consider themselves Burmese, and are very proud of their superior antiquity. The Burmese, for their part, look upon them as uncouth talkers and accomplished liars. With superior means of communication the differences will no doubt gradually disappear, but Arakan has always had a stronger Indian infusion, and more connection with Bengal than Burma ever had.

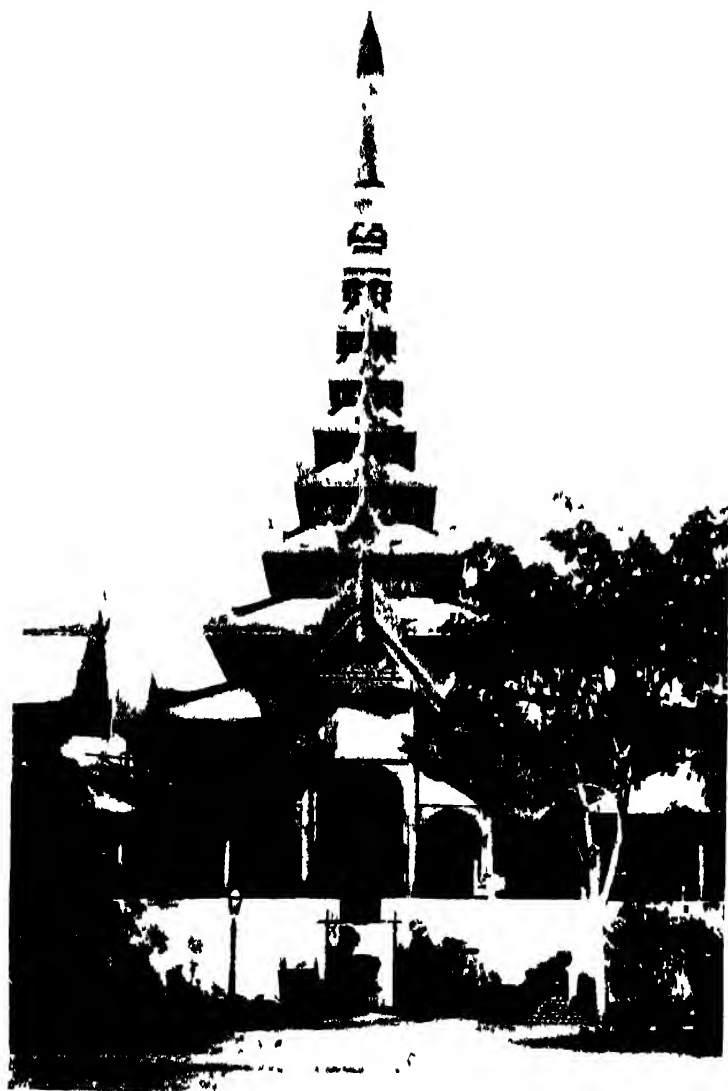
CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

BURMA is not easily accessible, except by sea. It can only be got at from China across a wide belt of savage mountain ranges. The land route from India is less formidable, but the Patkoi Range, and the extension northward of the Arakan Yoma, are repellent enough to prevent free intercourse, and these ranges are, and were inhabited by tribes who are only gradually and partially ceasing to be wild. India was too much taken up with its own troubles and invasions to have any interest in Burma, and Chinese history has nothing to say about any Burmese nation until the sixth century of our era. There is mention of the foundation, by emigrants from India, of kingdoms in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Cambodia, or Ciampa, or Funam, as it was then called by the Chinese, but nothing whatever about Burma.

There is, however, a general agreement that the *Chryse Regio* of Ptolemy, the *Chersonesus Aurea*, refers to, or at any rate includes Burma. Claudius Ptolemæus was not only noted as an astronomer, but, his system of geography and his description and maps of all the known world were unhesitatingly accepted down to the fifteenth century. His *Great System*, called by the Arabians *Almagest*, was published in Alexandria about A.D. 160.

It is not quite clear why Burma, and especially the Burma of the delta, should have been called the land of silver and gold. There is a good deal of gold-washing in the streams of Pegu, in the Salween, and the Chindwin,



MANDALAY PALACE SPIRE THE CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE.

and in the upper waters of the Irrawaddy, where for a time formal gold-dredging was carried on. Great quantities of gold-leaf, however, always came and come from China, so Burma got the name vicariously. For the name *Argentea Regio* there is more authority, for the Bawdwingyi, in the Shan States, now worked by the Burma Mines Company, had a large colony of Chinese miners long ago, and furnished most of the silver for the currency of Burma.

It seems more likely that the Golden Chersonese is simply a translation of the name Suvarnabhumi, the classic, or sacred, name of Burma, just as Sonaparanta was for the central region of the country. Sona is the Pali form of the Sanskrit Suvarna, and Pranta, or Aparānta, is the same in both languages, with the meaning of "golden frontier country." Sonaparanta was regularly used in the record of the titles of the kings of Burma, and it was the name given to the territories round the capital in all State documents. It is also to be noted that up to the end of the monarchy, Tampadipa (copper island, or region) figured among the royal titles, and this is no doubt Ptolemy's Chalcitis.

Ptolemy mentions that fleets went to the *Chryse Regio* from Ceylon, and it is an established fact that in the time of the Ptolemies of Egypt there was a considerable trade from Alexandria to the Indian Ocean, and colonies were settled in the East, just as the Phœnicians and the Greeks sent them to the West. It also appears that in A.D. 166, probably in the lifetime of the great mathematician and geographer, an envoy, or trade agent, who claimed to have been sent by one of the Antonine Emperors of Rome, made his way through the Indo-Chinese lands to the Court of China, then divided into three kingdoms.

Yule in his *Mission to Ava* says: "These regions may, moreover, have been the channels by which the precious metals were brought from China, and the mountains near

the source of the Irrawaddy, which are said to be very productive of gold ; and possibly, even at that remote period, the profuse use of gilding in edifices may have characterized the people, as it does now. It seems, however, most probable that this practice was introduced with Buddhism. Yet even at the period of the first Buddhistic mission to this region, at the conclusion of the third great synod, 241 B.C., it was known in India as Suvarnabhumi, the Golden Land."

It was first pointed out by Forbes in his *Indo-Chinese Languages* that the extensive plains of what is now the Irrawaddy delta, and the lower course of the Sittang, were covered by the sea till a few centuries after Christ, and this is corroborated by geological evidence. Yüan Chwang places Prome near a sea harbour, but native historians date the retreat of the ocean much earlier. There was, they say, a terrible earthquake in the fifth century before the beginning of the Christian era, and Mount Pôpa broke out into active eruption. Geology proves them to have been wrong. Mount Pôpa was active in Pliocene times, and may have continued so into Pleistocene, according to Mr. T. H. D. La Touche, of the Geological Survey of India. The most recent marine beds in Yenangyaung and Prome are, he says, of Miocene age. But it is certain that the sea-coast was at one time much farther north than it now is. The corrosion of sea-water is very evident on the numerous boulders which line the base of the hills, the Pegu Yoma, now far inland, stretching from Shwegyin to Martaban. Cables and ropes of sea-going vessels have been dug up at Ayetthêma, the ancient Takkala, or Golamattika, now quite twelve miles from the seashore, and not many years ago remains of foreign ships were found near Tunte (Twantay, close to Rangoon) buried eight feet beneath the surface of the earth.

There was therefore evidently a good deal of trade

between India and the Far East, and this went on till the Middle Ages, at any rate with Thatôn, but there is nothing to show when this regular communication between the Indian peninsula and Burma began.

What is certain is that the earliest races of Burma were not those that live there now. It is supposed that the country was occupied by a Negrito race, of the same stock as now extends from the Andaman Islands to the Philippines. There are none of these now remaining on the mainland. War, in the old days of hand-to-hand fighting, was a war of extermination.

The first mention of the Andamans is again to be found in Ptolemy's *Almagest*. He speaks of a group of islands in the Bay of Bengal as *Insulæ bonæ fortunæ* (*Ἀγαθῶν δαίμονος*, from which the late Colonel Yule thought the name Andaman might be derived). Certain Arab writers of the ninth century refer to the islands as being inhabited by Negritos, and Ser Marco Polo, some four hundred years later, makes the same statement.

The Andamanese are quite distinct from the Car Nicobar islanders, who are allied to the Malays, but they certainly seem to have affinities with the Mawken, Selung, or Semang (Selôn, as the Burmese call them), the sea gypsies who inhabit the islands of the Mergui Archipelago. Their language shows signs of relationship with that of the Tsiam or Cham, the aborigines of Cambodia, and is also connected with the speech of the Aetas, the aborigines of the Philippine Islands.

The Andamans are administratively connected with Burma, and the Selungs, or Mawken, figure in the Burma census. They are probably the representatives of the first inhabitants of Burma, and lived on the mainland coast, when the deltas of the Irrawaddy and the Sittang did not exist, and Pegu was "a mere speck of sand on the waste of waters, on which henthās—golden geese—preened their feathers."

There is nothing to show who lived in the interior and in the hill country behind. Sir George Grierson thinks they were of the same stock as the great Mundā race, and also of some of the tribes now found on the Australian continent

They, at any rate, are not the forefathers of the present Burma nation. The north-west frontier is a disturbed neighbourhood now, and it has been the gateway of invaders since the beginning of history.

Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, is a rather shadowy figure, but Diadorus tells us that she marched through the Khyber Pass as far as the Indus, and there fought and was wounded and defeated by the Emperor Strato-bates. That was two thousand years before Christ, and is as it may be, but beginning with Alexander the Great there came a succession of attacks through the north-west passes, most of them from the teeming north of Central Asia, resulting from surplus population, ambition, cupidity, or civil broils. After Alexander came Seleucus, the Græco-Bactrian (now Balkh), Kings Tamerlane, Babar, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali, and independent parties that followed in the wake of the conquerors.

All of them had as little regard for human life as Bolshéviki, or Sinn Feiners, and they massacred the populations they found with no more compunction than otherwise humane persons show towards surplus kittens.

Ethnologists are agreed in telling us that these Aryān Hindus, as we call them, displaced in this fashion three distinct black-skinned races: The Mundā, or Kolarian, who held north-west India; the Tibeto-Burmans, who occupied the east; and the Dravidians, who inhabited the land south of the Vindhya Hills. The frozen north produced better physique and superior organization, and perhaps intellect.

At any rate, the aborigines were overwhelmed, and only scattered remnants of them remain along the Hima-

layas from Nipal down into Burma, through the Chins and Kachins.

The steam-roller incursions of these invaders drove the original inhabitants farther and farther to the east, and some of them, including the Tibeto-Burmans, almost certainly must have come through the Patkoi Hills in their flight, though others may have descended from the Tibetan regions down the Irrawaddy. This seems to support the theory of the Gangetic origin of the Burmese, about which opinions have differed, and supports the tradition of the Mahā Yāzawin, which is not lightly accepted by very many. But the Mahā Yāzawin does not trouble itself about the mass of the people. The one aim it has is to connect Burmese royalty with the Kshatriya kings.

The pre-historic Mundā or Kolarians of India were no doubt the first to be dispossessed by the invaders from high Asia. They were driven south by the Môn-Khmêrs. Some authorities maintain that the languages of the Môn-Khmêr family have points of similarity with those of the pre-Dravidian Mundā, and that this points to a common origin, but this is disputed by others. Certainly all the Kols cannot well have been extirpated, and fragments of speech may have been adopted. The Kols, in fact, are the Mundā, for that is merely the name which Hodgson and Logan gave them, and Sir George Campbell's Kolarians are the same people.

The Dravidians are the typical inhabitants of India, and considerable authorities have satisfied themselves that they have always been in India. They and the Mundā are mutually incomprehensible, though they have a number of words which they have loaned from one another. Therefore they have been separated by the Linguistic Survey of India, into two sub-families: the Môn-Khmêr sub-family and the Mundā sub-family—of the main Austro-Asiatic family.

It is the Môn-Khmêr who concern Burma. They have no histories, and hardly any traditions, except local parables, but both the Burmans and the Shans admit that these were the first intruding hordes. These Môn-Khmêr are now represented by the Môn or Talaings and Cambodians, and by the straggling and landlocked tribes of Khassias in Assam, the Wā (who are the Lawa of the Siamese and Burmese), the Palaungs, and the scattered communities of the Hka Muk, Hka Met, Hka Bit, and Hka Hôk, and many others, with perhaps far-wandered members of the family in the Javanese, Bugis, Macassars, the Dyaks of Borneo, and the Tagalas of the Philippines.

It is not by any means certain how they came, but the probability is that they followed the valleys of the great rivers, the Irrawaddy, the Salween, and the Mèkhawng. There certainly, however, was a later invasion which came from India, or elsewhere, by sea and spread inland. About two thousand years ago the countries occupied by the Môn and the Khmêr were colonized by Dravidians from Telingana in India. These were a much more civilized people, and they found the earlier Môn in possession in such places as Thatôn and the Lawa State of Lophburi (then called Lavô) in Siam, both of them then on the sea coast.

The Môn were then the kind of people whom the Mahā Bhārata calls Rakshasas and Asuras, and the Burmese call Nagās, rude savages. The men may have been loathly ogres, but the daughters of them were fair to look upon, and the new arrivals married them. It was a sort of fusion like that of the Norman and the Saxon.

It is now that the name Talaing appears in place of Môn. The later arrivals came from Kalinga or Telingana, and Talaing is said to record the fact. Phayre accepted, if he did not propound, the appellation. Forchhammer denied it with characteristic overbearing Teutonic conceit,

and would have it that the title dates from the time of Alaungpayā's final conquest of the race, and means "the downtrodden," which as a matter of fact it does in Môn, but Mr. E. H. Parker bowls him out with a quotation from the T'êngyüeh annals in the year 1603, when "Siam and Telêng, during consecutive years, attacked Burma." Talingana still appears on Burmese maps as a country south of the River Godavari, and it is also very significant that in the Straits Settlements the regular name of coolies from the Madras coast is Kling. The Talaings themselves use the name Môn and, according to M. Duroiselle, the Burma Government archæologist, the earliest name was Rmen, which suggests the tongue acrobatics of the Wa and the Palaungs with the letter "r")

The early European voyagers ignored both names, and were satisfied to call them Peguans, and since Burma became British territory we have adopted the name of Talaings from the Burmese. At any rate the Môn-Khmêr were the first to displace the aboriginal Negritos, and they were followed by the Tibeto-Burmans, who, as far as can be learnt, made their first appearance in the Irrawaddy Valley about 600 B.C., roughly in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

Forbes and Garnier agree that at this time the Môn-Khmêr held the whole country eastward from the Irrawaddy to the China Sea and, until they were split by the Tai or Shan invaders from the north, from the Salween down to the Gulf of Siam. The Môn were then divided from the Khmêr, and their jars were less constant than when they were absolute neighbours, but fighting was a regular occupation in those old days, and the populations were as quarrelsome as sparrows, or the Irish, or the peoples of the South American republics, or the Balkans. Fighting was much less monotonous than cultivating the ground, and now and then it was almost profitable.

Anyhow the Môn were overwhelmed by the Tibeto-Burmans after a struggle of nearly a thousand years, and the Siamese, who call themselves the Thai, extinguished the Khmêr. About a century and a half ago the Môn, under the name of Peguans, held all the land from the Gulf of Martaban to far north of Mandalay. Now the Môn are hardly found out of the Tenasserim and Pegu divisions, and in dress, manners, and ways they can hardly be distinguished from the Burmese proper. The language, too, has almost disappeared. Not more than 150,000 speak it as their mother-tongue. When Alaungpaya made an end of the kingdom he proscribed the speech.

The Mahā Yāzawin brings the first Burmese kings from India, and leaves us to think what we please about their subjects. The later philologists of the Indian school insist upon a Chinese origin. Logan, the earliest student of the subject, after wavering between the country enclosed by the Hwang Hô and the Kin-sha Kiang (the Upper Yangtzu), concluded that the Burmese came from the northern slopes of the Tian-Shan range, extending eastward across a great part of the Tibetan plateau to the upper waters of the Brahmaputra and the Irrawaddy, and perhaps reaching what we now call China, but which certainly was not the China that we know. Forbes agrees with him, and this is clearly the reasonable view.

We cannot compare the India of the twentieth century with those far-off times. The Kapilavastu king, Gaudama himself, was not an Indian of the present day. The Burman is blood-brother of the Buddhist races of India before the arrival of the Aryans, who expelled Buddhism from India. There were no Punjabi Mahomedans or Bengalis in the country in the time of Suddhâdana and Yasodhara and Siddârtha. The Sakyas, we may conclude, were Aryan, but the bulk of the population was Dravidian. The base-born Chandragupta, who drove the Greeks from

India, was not of kin to anyone in these regions now. His grandson Asoka, the Dhammathawka of the Burmese, of Magadha, the modern Bihar, who was the Saul and the Constantine of Buddhism, sent his missionaries across and along the Himalayas to preach his religion (264-225 B.C.), and they naturally followed the line of the moving population, and introduced Buddhism in the capital of the Shan kingdom, south of the Kin-sha Kiang, as well as farther south in Burma.

The Tibeto-Burmans have left more traces of their march than the Môn-Khmêr. Their course is marked, like the trail of a paper-chase, by allied tribes that occupy the lower Himalayan region, from the Gandak River in Western Nipâl to the basin of the Irrawaddy River.

All Central Asia had been set in motion by the Greek invasion of India under Alexander the Great and the establishment, by Seleucus Nikator, of a Greek kingdom in Bactria. Chandra Gupta's establishment of the Mauryan dynasty in Bihar, with the ancient Magadha as its capital, helped to displace the various non-Aryan races of Northern India and prepared the way for the inroads of the Scythian tribes. Asoka's zeal in propagating Buddhism also helped. His missionary parties went in all directions, from Afghanistan to China, and from Central Asia to Ceylon.

The Scythian tribes thus learnt the way, and their inroads on India lasted from 126 B.C. to A.D. 544. They were no less active in China, and it was their raids which led to the formation of the China that we know. Wu Ti, the sixth emperor of the Han dynasty, was stung into retaliation. Khotan, the Pamirs and Kokhand were annexed, and the western provinces of Yün-nan, Kueichou, Ssu-ch'uan, Kuang-si were united to China, as well as Korea on the north, and Tong-king, Hainan, and Canton on the south.

This was at the end of the second century before Christ,

and the result was important for Burma, for it drove the easternmost of the Tibeto-Burman tribes, as well as the Tai, or Shan, and the Karen tribes, to the west and south. The Tibeto-Burmans skirted the edge of the Tibetan tableland and turned south down the numerous valleys that form the head-waters of the Irrawaddy. This was one, and perhaps the chief, of their roads in, but there were certainly other swarms that came in by way of Manipur and the Patkoi Range and, though there is no proof, we may take it that these were the earlier, and that the Mahā Yāzawin with its kings is correct.

The Chins (who call themselves Zho, Shu, or Lai) show the most clearly marked footprints of the immigrant Burmese. Probably they may be taken to be a presentment of the pagan Burman before he acquired Buddhism. There are strong resemblances in their manners and customs, which are most clearly seen in *The Customary Law of the Chins*, translated by Maung Tet Pyo, a magistrate in the Thayetmyo district. It is also undisputed that the Thet, or Sak, of Thāré Kettara, who moved from there to found Pagān, and start the Burmese race as we know it, were a Chin clan. The Pyu and Kanran (possibly Karens) who helped them in the process are more doubtful, but at any rate the three of them are responsible for the first appearance of the name Mranma, or Burman, when Pagān was founded, and it is in Pagān that authentic, or at any rate reasonable, Burmese history begins.

Mranma, or Myammā, is pronounced Bamā, and it is from this that we get the name of Burmān. The early Indian settlers appear to have given their hosts the name of Brahma, and this was adopted all the more readily by such works as the Yāza Wins, because the Buddhist sacred books call the first inhabitants of the world Brahmas, and Brahama-désa is the name which the Cinghalese monks give to the country.

This would appear incontestable, but first the late very

learned Bishop Bigaudet, and after him the very capable Captain Forbes, who died too early, and still more recently Mr. E. H. Parker, steeped in Chinese learning, maintain stubbornly that Mran, Myan, or Myen was the original name. The Kachins certainly call the Burmese Myen, and the Shans call them Man, but practically all Kachins, and very many Shans, speak Chinese. Mr. Parker makes a great point of the circumstance that the Chinese only recognize the Burmese as Myen about A.D. 1000, which is the time when Burmese history proper begins, and they did not give the country the name Mien-tien, by which they now know it, until the year 1427. But when East India Company officers wrote Mewjerry for Myosayé, one can quite understand a Chinaman's turning Bram into Mien.

The Chinese, as we know them, had no real acquaintance with Burma till Kublai Khan took Tali-fu, the Tai (Shan) capital called Nanchao, in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Before that, and for some time later, what the Burmese called Chinese were almost certainly Shans.

The Karens, on the other hand, were close, and not too fond neighbours of the Burmese. One branch of their race calls the Burmans Payo, and another Pyaw. The Palaungs call them Paran, which may well be Bram, and the Karen names hint at the mysterious Pyu.

The reasonable conclusion seems to be that some, perhaps most, of the original Burmans came from the Himalayas, and that when they call themselves Brahmas, it is not mere "empty, bombastic pride," but a proof that, from the beginning, they had quite as good an opinion of themselves as they have at the present day.

Further, in the days of T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) Burma, so far as it was known at all to the Chinese, was called P'iao. This was in the days of the Pyu, the Kanran, and the Sak, who amalgamated to form the Mranma.

In the days when spelling was a matter of individual fancy P'iao might well be Pyu. The Manipuris call Burma Maran, and the Burmese bullied them enough to make them quite sure of the name. In much later days, Captain Alves, who came to see Alaungpayā about the Negrais factory, writes steadily of the "Buraghmah King." The Burmans call the modern Prome Pyi, but the Talaings called it Brôm, just as the Cambodians called the whole country Prôm. Brôm is the city of Brahma, the centre of Brahmanical influence in those early days. Hence, when Thârê Kettara came to an end through civil jars, or outside invasion, the remnant that came to found Pagān were called the people from Brahma—the Mranma, Bamā—Burmese.

It is perhaps not without significance that Burmese versifiers and playwrights always refer to the country as Myantaing, which distinctly points to Mien Tien. Prose-writers, on the other hand, no less steadily hold by Myamma. In Pali the form Mranma-désa is invariable.

The peoples in hill countries are confined by the nature of the land to narrow areas, their own hill range, or valley, just as pariah dogs in Eastern cities have definite quarters which belong to them. This is regular enough even now, and in the old days any visitor, or casual intruder, was set upon as a matter of course. The consequence is the growth of dialects, and these often vary enough to be called different languages. The Kachins have a great variety of patois; there are at least seven forms of Shan speech, to say nothing of four varieties of written character. Thus the Pyu, the Kanran, and the Sak may very well have been simply wanderers from adjacent tracts, and were blood relations without knowing it. When they had wrangled and fought with one another till they were tired of it, or when the Talaings on their border began to encroach, they coalesced and compromised on the title which the emigrants from India or the Buddhists

of the northern canon used, and called themselves Mranma.

The Pyu were the only branch that had a written character, and their script did for all. We are very far from having mastered it. One of the four slabs of the Myazedi column at Pagān is inscribed with what is assumed to be Pyu. Mr. E. H. Blagden has deciphered a few characters from cinerary urns dug up at Yathé-myo. There are other urns and bowls which have been found elsewhere, and in time we may recover the language, but it may be taken that they are the earliest Burmese, and that it requires all the figments of the Mahā Yāzawin to make King Duttabaung and his successors worth noticing. The kings were Indian, or composite formations, the people were Burmese.

CHAPTER III

YAMANYA: THE PRINCIPALITIES IN THE LOW COUNTRY •

THATÔN was a civil settlement, in contradistinction to Tagaung, where the first arrivals, if they were not one army, were at any rate an armed body. The early arrivals in Thatôn, which was then actually on, or not very far from, the sea, were traders, but traders in those days were not above fighting; in fact they had to fight, and the people they dispossessed were what the Burmese chroniclers called Bilus and Nagās, the Rakshasa of India, what we call savages. Unfortunately, when Alaungpayā conquered the Talaings, he destroyed all the records of the vanquished, so that we have very fragmentary Môn chronicles. The Mahā Yāzawin, with characteristic arrogance, makes only casual reference to the doings of the coast-wise petty states, and is obscure where it is not contemptuous, or at the best tolerant.

The confusion is added to by the difficulty of deciding which is the real Suvarnabhumi. This has been identified with the Malay Peninsula, with Cambodia, and with Ramanya-désa, which the Burmese turn into Yamanya, yet Thatôn undoubtedly took the name for itself, and it was sporadically conceded by most of its neighbours.

There were probably arrivals from the north, as well as by the sea, from Telingana. The last were the more civilized and they get the credit of founding the town in 543 B.C. At any rate Thatôn was sixty years older than Thāre Kettara, which it was probable the Talaings destroyed

rather than that civil war made an end of it. Excavation may decide the question, but unhappily there is little money available for the purpose.

There is a list of fifty-nine kings of Thatôn, whom we may ignore, or pass as read. The earlier years of the country were full of jars between the Brahmans and the Buddhists. According to such Talaing chronicles as exist, Sona and Uttara brought Buddhism to Thatôn in or about 246 B.C., as a result of the Third Buddhist Council, convened by the Emperor Asoka. Missionaries were then sent far and wide to propagate religion and put an end to heresy. Sona and Uttara were at first, we are told, by no means well received, but eventually they prevailed and "revived" religion. This is the story which has been long accepted, but modern research combats it; throws doubts on Sona and Uttara, and points out that Asoka has nothing to say about them or about Burma.

For long, also, Buddhaghosa was assumed to be the apostle of Buddhism in Burma. The Talaing historians have no doubt about it and, moreover, claim him as a fellow-countryman. They say that he crossed over to Ceylon in A.D. 402, and when he returned, brought with him a complete set of the Tripitakas, as well as commentaries. This has hitherto been accepted, but it does not seem to be true. The Cinghalese Mahāvamsa, which certainly ought to know, says that after Buddhaghosa had paid his visit to Ceylon in the time of Mahānāmha, which extended from A.D. 412 to 434, he went, not to Thatôn, but to Zampudipa to worship at the Bo-tree at Uruvela in Magadha. A still more damaging fact is the failure of the Kalyani inscription to take any notice of the visit. The Kalyani stenograph is inscribed, on ten, seven-foot high stones in a row, at Zaingganaing, a suburb of Pegu. These were set up by King Dhammaseti of Pegu in A.D. 1476, and the object was to secure the purity of Buddhism. Dhammaseti had been a monk before he

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became king, so that he was very unlikely to have overlooked so notable a visit. The Cambodians, it may be remarked, maintain that it was to them that Buddhaghosa came. It may be taken that the Mahāvamsa disposes of their claims also. It is most unfortunate that Alaungpayā was so thorough in his destruction of the old Talaing Chronicles.

The Buddhism of the Burmese of our days is the southern form, the Hinayāna, or "Lesser Vehicle," a term to which the late Professor Rhys Davids objected. It is, however, certain that the Buddhism of the northern part of the country was Mahāyānist. The scriptures of the "Greater Vehicle" were in Sanskrit, not in Pali, and Sanskrit tablets have been dug up at the site of Tagaung. Kaniskha, the Scythian king, held the Fourth Buddhist Council in Cashmere, and the missionaries sent out carried the scriptures in Sanskrit, using the characters of the Gupta period. They introduced Buddhism of the northern form into China in the year 67 of our era. Ball, in *Things Chinese*, is responsible for the statement that in the first centuries of its arrival nine-tenths of the people of China were Buddhists. Some Buddhist scriptures may have come to Tagaung through Assam and Manipur, but it is more likely that the bulk of the literature came from China, through the Shan kingdom of Nanchao, of which mention will be made later.

Tibetan devil-worship, or Shamanism, was brought in by the miscellaneous swarms that came from the north and fastened itself on to Mahāyānism to such an extent that the Burmese word for monk, Pôn-gyi, is derived from the Tibetan Bôn-gyepa. Then Tantrism crept in, over the Patkoi Range and the Nāga Hills, and through Manipur, and it was a very debased religion which Anawrat'ā reformed when he annihilated Thatôn and brought Hinayānism to Pagān. Both Burmese Buddhism and Burmese history date from this point, to say nothing

of the Burmese written character, which Mr. Taw Sein Ko, the Burmese archæologist, decides was based on the Gupta script of the fifth century of our era, modified by the Eastern Chalukyan character of the tenth century, which reached Pagān by sea through the Talaings. The Aryan and Dravidian systems were then blended.

The history of Thatôn is as obscure as that of Tagaung. For a thousand years it simply existed or traded, and then Pegu was founded in A.D. 573. Probably this was because the sea-line had gone forward, but the legend is that two princes were turned out of Thatôn because their mother was a Nagama. Strictly this means a she-dragon, but less offensively it implies that she was a country lass. At any rate they founded Pegu under the classical name of Hansawadi, which is perpetuated in Henthawaddy, the name of the division in the British province. It was in regular conformity with Indo-Chinese legend that the kingdom should have been established by two brothers: it was no less in accordance with the custom of those days that Wimala, the younger, murdered Thamala, the elder, and reigned alone.

Pegu, however, flourished exceedingly, and extended its boundaries over the whole of the delta. How it did so we are not told, nor how it was overthrown by Pagān. All that we learn is from the Burmese Chronicle, which records how Anawrat'ā destroyed Thatôn, probably then a comparatively decadent territory, and carried off its king, Manuha.

But Pegu had begun the struggle between the Burmese and the Talaings, which lasted off and on for about a thousand years, and only ended with the capture of Dagôn in 1755 and the founding of Rangoon by Alaungpayā.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAGĀN MONARCHY

THE formation of the Burmese nation began with the founding of Pagān in A.D. 108, but there is no real Burmese history till we come to Anawrat'ā. There are several fantastic tales soberly recorded with the main intention of connecting the ruling house with the ancient Kshatriya kings, but they are not worth noticing.

Thenga Raja, however, may be noticed, because it was he who established the present Burma Era. The Era of Religion, or the Nirvana Era, had long been known in Burma. It began in 544 B.C., and was devised in Ceylon. This was overlapped by the Sakkaraj, or Vulgar Era, Burmanized into Thagarit. The Burmese are accustomed to derive this from Sekya, and to say it was instituted by the King of the Dewas, but it is nearly certainly a form of the Saka Era of India, and is in use in most of the Indo-Chinese countries. It began in A.D. 78. Thenga Raja put an end to this. He had been a monk, but "re-entered the world," and is credited with being a capable administrator. At any rate he reformed the calendar. This era is called the Dodorasa, and was most likely borrowed from the Chinese. It dates from A.D. 638. Even to the present day, however, important Burmese documents are dated both in Anno Buddhæ and in the current era.

The Myazedi pillar, so-called because it was set up at the Pagān pagoda of that name, is a most valuable aid to the synchronizing of these eras. The stone has its



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THE WHITE ELEPHANT WITH TIPINDAN AT THE PALACE ANARAPURA

inscription recorded on each of the four faces in a different language—Burmese, Talaing, Pali, and a language which has not yet been identified. One would expect it to be Pyu, but now Mr. C. O. Blagden, who is the great and almost the only authority on the subject, does not say so. The inscription is in duplicate, one stone set up on the north face of the pagoda and the other stored for safe custody in the library. The inscription is especially valuable because it is the first known document in the Burmese character, and because it corrects the dates of Burmese history. Sir Arthur Phayre, who has been followed for many years, based his *History of Burma* on the Hman-nan Yāza-win, compiled in the reign of King Bagyidaw (1819-37). The revised dates show a difference of thirty-four years, and put the date of Anawrat'a's accession in 1044 instead of in A.D. 1010.

For another couple of centuries after Thenga Raja there is no king of Pagān worth noticing, but about A.D. 924 we are told that a usurper, named Sao Rahan, established Nagā, or dragon worship. It may be taken that this came partly from Tibet, partly from China, through Annam and Cambodia. Sao Rahan, the Chronicle tells us, set up an image of a dragon in a spacious garden and caused it to be worshipped.

This is set down as a definite fact, but the vicissitudes of religion were more complicated than that. Mr. Taw Sein Ko and M. Duroiselle, Government archæologists in Burma, put the matter more clearly than the somewhat jerky record of the Royal Chronicle. Shamanism, the Bôn religion, and Lamaism, which was a depraved growth out of Mahāyānism, the Buddhism of the northern form, came to Burma from Tibet and used a mixture of Tibetan and Sanskrit. Upon this came Tantrism, through Assam and Manipur, from Bengal. The priests of this faith were called Ari, and were a distinctly scandalous body. Their power, though perhaps not their influence, was put

an end to by Anawrat'ā, who established Hinayānism, the southern, and more orthodox, form of Buddhism.

At Thāré Kettara, the excavations and the pagodas at Yathé-myo, as the old site, near Hmawza, is now called, Buddhism and Brahmanism were mixed, just as they were at Thatôn, but at Yathé-myo there are proofs, whereas in the old Savarnabhumi there are none. The two most interesting pagodas in the Hermit City are the Bèbè and the Bawbaw-gyi. The Bèbè enshrines a stone, inscribed in an unknown character, which is conjectured to be Pyu. It may date from the seventh century, though the Pyu sept survived till the eleventh. The Bawbaw-gyi is still more interesting, for, in addition to a presentment of the Buddha taking food just before attaining Nirvana, numbers of terra-cotta plaques have been found displaying the *Linga*, the Hindu caste-mark. This is strong evidence of Sivaism. Further, there is a fairy tale of a war between Peikthano in the Magwe district, and Duttabaung, of Hsāre Kettara. The princess of Peikthano had a magic drum, and the Prome king had three eyes. Peikthano is the Burmese transliteration of Vishnu, and Siva had three eyes. The conclusion is that the hostilities symbolize the struggle between Sivaism and Vishnuism. The princess lost her magic drum, but the fight cost Duttabaung one of his eyes.

All the tablets found in Pagān, Tagaung, and Prome are in the Sanskrit character, which was the language of Mahāyānism. The priests of Tantric devil-worship were called Ari. They were nominally Buddhists, but they were more pronouncedly Shamans of a particularly undesirable kind. They were professed sorcerers and hardened alchemists. They offered animal sacrifices; were deep drinkers, and were so far from being celibates that they claimed the rights of *prima noctis*, like the worst of the mediæval knights. Anawrat'ā made a vigorous effort to suppress them when he introduced

Hinayānism, the purer southern form of Buddhism, but they were only scotched, not killed. Many, in fact, escaped and scattered themselves over the country. They even held on in Pagān itself, for in the Nanda-minya there is an inscription showing that, in A.D. 1248, this pagoda with the adjoining monastery were built by a minister, with the support of the King Alaungsithu, the third in succession from Anawrat'ā. This recognizes the Ari, and even records revenue assigned for the purpose of supplying the monks with meat and spirit, twice a day, morning and evening, a flagrant defiance of monastic rules.

The Ari were repressed, but they were not altogether crushed, for, long after Anawrat'ā, Dhammazedi, a king of Pegu, who left the monastery to ascend the throne, did much to reform them, but a century after his time we find 'Sinbyushin prohibiting sacrifices of liquor and of animals. Later they became soldier-monks, and behaved in a very unorthodox way in Sagaing and Ava, where they drank, boxed, dealt in horseflesh and sorcery, and maintained the immorality of the old days. As late as the eighteenth century, a band of a thousand fighting monks marched from Ava against the Talaings. Traces of them still exist in the alchemy and coining operations which here and there Pōngyis still practice, and in the ways of Trans-Salween mendicant monks, who own and travel about with pack bullocks, themselves carrying guns, and freely accused of being by no means regular celibates.

Shamanism was less assertive, and remains firmly fixed in the national character. There are few Burmese houses that have not the dried coco-nut shell hung in the verandah for the habitation of the house spirit. Practically no Burman is without a horoscope, and from it lucky and unlucky days are calculated for all manner of enterprises, from setting off on a journey to marriage. Girls are

especially expert in the latter divination. Youths, until the country was quieted by the British occupation, were most zealous about charms against bullet or sword wound, whether in the form of inscribed talismans let in under the skin, or mantras tattooed on the chest or arms. This is not Buddhistic.

Anawrat'ā is one of the kings whom the Burmese call great, along with the fabulous Duttabaung, the meteoric Tabin Shweti, and Alaungpayā, the hunter. It is not clear how he got religion. His suppression of the Ari was perhaps due rather to a sense of decency than to piety, but he became an enthusiast for Buddhism, and is certainly responsible for the establishment of the southern form of Buddhism in Burma; for the consolidation of the Burmese nation; and for the introduction of the Burmese alphabet. Before Anawrat'ā's time there are no Burmese epigraphs, though not a few of Pyu and Talaing, as well as of Sanskrit and Pali script, have been preserved. Still there was a tepid kind of Buddhism of the northern form all over Northern Burma. From Anawrat'ā's time on, architecture, in particular, flourished, and pagodas sprang up all over the country.

The Mahā Yāzawin is mainly interested in battles and conquests, after it has done with chimæras and ambitious pedigrees. There had been bickering between the Talaing of Pegu and the Pyu, who faded into the Myanma, before Anawrat'ā's time, and the Talaings seemingly had the better of it, at any rate all over the delta lands, but the Pagān king put a sudden end to all that. He sent a message to Manuha, the King of Thatôn, asking for a copy of the Tripitaka, the "Three Baskets of the Law," but he got a refusal for an answer. Thereupon Anawrat'ā raised an army and marched upon Thatôn, which he took after a long siege. Nothing is said of Pegu, which even then materially, if not spiritually, was a much stronger place, but no doubt he took it in his stride.

Thatôn was absolutely annihilated. King Manuha, the Books of the Law, the monks, and the whole body of the people were carried off in a mass. There were "five elephant loads of Buddhist scriptures and five hundred Buddhist monks," and in particular there were all the temple and pagoda builders, who, in the succeeding years, raised the temples which make the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy so remarkable a place. Anawratā made a beginning with the Shwezigôn and other pagodas, in which he enshrined relics got by the rough-and-ready process of pulling down sacred buildings in Thatôn, Pegu, Prome, and Arakan, where they had been preserved. The main glories of Pagān, the temples, in particular the Ananda pagoda, built by Kyanyittha, Anawratā's son, came later. The captive king, Manuha, though he faded into the "King of the Pagoda Slaves," seems to have been well treated and fairly well off, for he built the still existing palace which goes by his name, and probably also the Kyauk-ku temple.

Anawratā was not merely a reformer, or a revivalist : he was also an enthusiast. When he had had the Books of the Law transcribed from the Talaing to the Burmese character, he determined to get the tooth of the Buddha from China. Accordingly he set out with a great army and believed that he reached China, and so does the Mahā Yāzawin. But whether he went over the rugged hills east of Bhamo, or by the Kun Lông ferry and up the Nam Ting Valley to Gandalarit, it was not China that he reached, but the then independent Shan kingdom of Nanchao. He saw few Chinese, no Chinese official, and the "emperor" that he met must have been the King of Nanchao. His army may have been as formidable as that with which he swept over the lowlands of the Delta, but it was frittered away in the hills, and he did not get the tooth, and does not even seem to have fought for it. What he did get was a golden image which

had touched the tooth, and this is enshrined in the Shwezigôn pagoda.

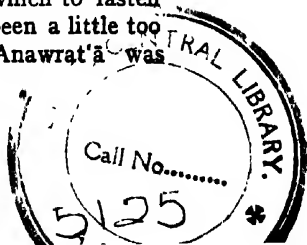
It is also from this time that the suzerainty of Burma over the Shan States, at any rate those to the north and east, begins. A number of these principalities had broken off in swarms from the main kingdom of Nan Chao and these were easily dismayed into submission.

A more unexpected result was the enrolling of Burma as a tributary of China. Anawrat'â had sent some gold vessels as a present to the real Emperor of China, a monarch of the Sung dynasty, and these were noted as a rendering of tribute. Some years later a white elephant was sent, and this was regarded as confirmation and acceptance of the overlordship. At any rate from this time on, the Chinese annals grade the King of Burma in the same class as the King of Annam and the Caliph of Baghdad. When much later there were more definite relations with the Middle Kingdom, the formality, settled down into what was called the Decennial Tribute. There was a good deal of make-believe about this. The Burmese always called the remittances which went by the Ambassador's Road complimentary presents, while the Chinese methodically entered them as subjects' dues and quittance. This Decennial Tribute gave the purists of our Foreign Office a good deal of worry after the annexation of Upper Burma, but the matter was very appropriately and characteristically settled by the determination of the ownership of East Chieng Hung, a remote eastern Shan State, over which the Chinese, the French, and ourselves had equally nebulous authority. Muang U Nua and Muang U Tai went to France, and China has forgotten all about the Decennial Tribute.

Anawrat'â had a great craving for holy relics. He sent to Ceylon for the Buddha's tooth there, but got nothing better than a parasitic growth, or emanation from it. The inevitable quarrel between two brothers over the

sovereignty of Arakan took him over the hills, and he hoped to get possession of the colossal brass image of the Buddha there, but was foiled again. A more dubious exploit was the pulling down of a pagoda at Thāré Kettara to get a frontal bone there enshrined. The rigid righteous tell with grim satisfaction that it vanished before it could be built into the Shwezigôn pagoda. At any rate Anawrat'ā met his death while he was out hunting, but there are no details except the fantastic statement that he was killed by a *Nat*, a spirit, in the form of a white buffalo, ostensibly because of this sacrilege.

He was, however, a great king, and the Burmese have a right so to regard him. He established, for the first time, a Burmese kingdom, extending over the whole of the low country and eastward into the Shan States. He is said to have marched as far as Bengal, and he broke up the Shan kingdom of Pông, which most likely was Mông Kawng, the modern Mogaung, and he made Pagān the centre of Buddhism in Burma. He was succeeded by his son Sawlu, who was killed in a rebellion, and followed by Kyanyittha, a prince whom Anawrat'ā grievously suspected not to be his son at all. His mother was a princess of Wésali (Assam), and the story of Lancelot and Guinevere is supposed to be reproduced in her relations with the minister who brought her to Pagān. At any rate, Anawrat'ā is said to have been persuaded of the boy's illegitimacy, and according to popular tradition made periodical attempts to have him put to death, all the more advisedly because Kyanyittha was a popular favourite, good at all games, and a capable general. Therefore, while the Burmese are proud of Anawrat'ā as a great conqueror and a man of gusty passion, they have made of Kyanyittha a lay figure on which to fasten sentimental legends. He is said to have been a little too attentive to a Talaing princess, whom Anawrat'ā was



bringing home for himself. If it is true, he was lucky to escape with nothing worse than exile, and it was during this period that the folk romances were built up which are commemorated in such village names as Stomach-ache and Gripes Better. Place names in Burmese are all descriptive, and where there is no obvious explanation, a story is invented of the Diversions of Purley kind. During this seclusion and these ailments Kyanyittha fell in love with a village headman's daughter. This girl, Thanbhula, was left lamenting for many years, but Kyanyittha erected a pagoda to her, which still exists and records, in the Myazedi inscription, his love for her and their son. But his great memorial is the Ananda, the most impressive of all the temples in Pagan. In it there is a statue of him, flanked by one of Shin Araham, a Buddhist saint, greatly cultivated by Anawrat'ā.

Kyanyittha's memory will always live in this stately fane. He had no great conquests, to his name like Anawrat'ā, but he did beat off an attack on Pagan led by Nga-ya-man, Governor of Pegu, a foster-brother of Sawlu's, who had a gambling quarrel with that monarch, raised a rebellion, caught and killed Sawlu, and was then, with his army of Talaings, himself defeated and killed by Kyanyittha.

It is to Kyanyittha's credit that he designated Sawlu's infant child to be his successor. It is true that he did so when he was unaware that his village love, Thanbhula, had borne him a son, but in those old rough days that would ordinarily have meant the death of the infant claimant. Thanbhula's son went by the very non-Burmese style of Raja Kumar, and it is singular that he, also did not die early, but on the contrary lived to found the Myazedi pagoda at Myinkaba, a mile from Pagan, and to set up a stone there with inscriptions in Burmese, Talaing, Pali, and Pyu, which is very valuable in fixing many dates.

Sawlu's son succeeded peacefully and reigned for seventy-five years under the title of Alaungsithu. He built the Shwékugyi pagoda at Pagān, and he marched into Arakan with so formidable a force that there was no opposition, and a prince called Letyamöngnan, the son of a former king of Arakan, who had taken refuge in Pagān, was installed as king. Alaungsithu also carried out extensive repairs at the great temple of Budh Gaya, through the instrumentality of Letyamöngnan, who is there described as "the Lord of one hundred thousand Pyus." The connection with India was still maintained, and the form of many of the Pagān temples suggests architects from the Dekkhan, along with others, which certainly point to Cinghalese models. Many of the images and their attitudes are quite South Indian, and the square structures with mandapas, or porches, instead of the round tumulus, to say nothing of the vaulted chambers and corridor passages, all suggest Indian influence rather than the present conical style of pagoda.

Alaungsithu seems to have been a somewhat colourless person, and there are neither wars nor legends to his record. He reigned a very long time and, perhaps on this account, he had trouble with his sons. The elder son went north and settled in the Amarapura Mandalay neighbourhood, where there was nothing but jungle up till then. It was he who began the embanking and excavation of the great mere, or broad, which came to be known as the Aungpinle, and is of considerable value in the somewhat dry climate of Mandalay. The second son, Narathu, stayed on at his father's capital, and wearied with long waiting for the throne which he coveted, had the old man taken to Shwe-ku temple and there choked to death, under a pile of cloth in the shrine which he himself had built.

Naturally Shengsaw, the elder son, came down to assert his claim to succeed. Probably he thought it as well to

waste no time. At any rate he came down with only a small following, and was met by his brother, Narathu, on the river-bank, taken off to be consecrated king, and poisoned the same night. Narathu then became king without opposition, but he continued his murders. Many of Alaungsithu's ministers and advisers were put to death, and he slew with his own hand his father's widow. She was not necessarily, and probably in fact was not, his own mother, but she was the daughter of the King of Palikkara, a not very easily identifiable area, probably connected with the Pala kings of Bengal. The Palikkara king naturally resented this, and sent eight soldiers disguised as Brahmans, who professed that they came to bless the king, but cut him down instead, and then killed themselves. Hence Narathu is styled Kulá-kyámin in the roll of kings—the king who was killed by foreigners. During the four years which he reigned he began the building of the Dhammayan-gyi, since pagoda-building promises absolution for murdering as well as other sins.

He was succeeded by a son, Mingyin Narā-hkun-hká, but they were a murderous lot, and he, after three years, was killed by his brother, Narapatisithu, who reigned for thirty-seven years because there were no other aspirants. Narapatisithu built the great temples, Gawdawpalin and Sulamani. He also went to Taung-ngu and repaired some of the pagodas said to have been founded by Asōka. The extent of the Pagān monarchy at this time is shown by the statement that he left his son as governor there, and went on, clearly through Pegu and Martaban, to found Tavoy, which later had a temporary importance. The Burmese Chronicle claims that Narapatisithu held all the country from the borders of China to the mouths of the Tenasserim River. Tenasserim then was Siamese, or in the hands of the predecessors of the Siamese, as also was Mergui. We are told that he



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sent an embassy to Ceylon, which came back with five learned monks to help him in his religious efforts. In those days, when the kings were not warring on their neighbours, or killing their relatives, they diligently engaged in works of merit.

The Mahāvamsa, the famous annals of Ceylon, record that about this time there was trouble between Ceylon and the countries of Cambodia and Aryamanna (Yamanya or Pegu). It had been the custom for the King of Ceylon to depute an agent or ambassador to Pegu, where he was supported by the ruler of the country. The King of Burma, however, stopped this maintenance, held up some Cinghalese deputation that was going to Cambodia, seized their ships, and otherwise was offensive. The King of Ceylon at the time was Parakrāma, who was a warrior little inclined to submit to any sort of slight. He therefore shipped off an army which landed at Ukkāka, probably Ukkalaba, an ancient city near the present town of Tunté (Twantay), and made a prisoner of the Governor of Pegu. The Mahāvamsa says full redress was obtained, together with the promise of a tribute of elephants. The Mahā Yāzawin conveniently forgets to say anything about it. There certainly was some incident. Colonel Burney says the invaders were Chittagonians, but probably he was mistaken, and the Mahāvamsa is right, though it may have exaggerated the importance of the affair.

When Narapatisithu died, he was succeeded by his son Zeyathinka, who reigned twenty-three years, and did nothing worth recording except the building of the Bawdi, which is a copy of the temple at Budhgaya and is the last of the great religious buildings at Pagān, built during a period of a hundred and seventy years. Two other sons, Kyaswa and Uzana, succeeded to the throne, and then there came Narathihapadé, who is branded in Burmese history as Talôkpyi Min—the king who ran away from

the Chinese. He is said to have been luxurious, and to have insisted on three hundred dishes at every meal; he was certainly fond of ostentatious display, for he began building a pagoda (the Mingala Zedi) which was criticized as being more meretricious than artistic, and cost fabulous sums, so that the people said: "The pagoda finished, the country ruined." The relic chamber, which is always an expensive item, was filled with images of solid gold. There were seven images of the Buddha, in the attitudes which he assumed after attaining to that dignity; there were golden images of the three preceding Buddhas of this era, and of various apostles and saints; of all the kings of Pagān—fifty-one of them—and finally of Narathihapadé himself, with his wives and children. This is probably the Tower of Gold referred to by Ser Marco Polo as existing in the city of Mien.

State affairs were neglected; or the king's "merit" was bad, as the Burman chronicler puts it. There was trouble in Martaban, and a second rising resulted in the death of the governor and the establishment of Wareru as a separate ruler there. Of him we shall hear more later.

This was bad, but it was a trifle to the storm that broke on Pagān. The details are very involved and obscure. The Burmese chronicler did not know very much of any country outside Burma, and he confuses Nanchao with China, or did not realize the overthrow of Nanchao. This was a Tai (Shan) kingdom, with its capital at the modern Tali-fu, which had led a quarrelsome existence for over five hundred years and alternately defeated Tibetan and Chinese armies; and at the period of which we are writing, had just occupied Assam (Wésali Lōng they called it). The Chinese annals claim that a Nanchao general helped the Pagān forces to beat off the Cinghalese attack, and refers to Burma, now for the first time called Mien Tien, as a Nanchao tributary. The Burmese maintain that it was the other way round, but

at any rate there were relations between the two Powers, and this brought disaster on Pagān.

For thirty years the Mongols, under the leadership of Jenghiz Khan, and later of his son Mangu, with Kublai Khan as his lieutenant, had been putting an end to the Sung dynasty in China and founding the Chinese Empire that we know. The Tai of Nanchao seem to have been the most formidable of his opponents. At any rate Kublai Khan marched the thousand miles from Shensi to Nanchao, captured all the fortified towns, and put Uriang Kadaï in as Governor of Tali. The reasonable explanation seems to be that Nanchao looked upon the Burmese as allies, if not as tributaries, and that Burmese troops responded to the call. Ser Marco Polo says that a Burmese army fought and was defeated in the "great plain of Vochan" (Yung-ch'ang). There he was wrong. There may have been a Burmese contingent, but the main army was Shan, making a last attempt to restore their kingdom, and it was defeated and retired on Burma. The Mongol general, Nasr'eddin, went in pursuit as far as the plains, but retired on account of the great heat. Marco Polo says the great battle took place in 1272, but Yule thinks it more likely that it was five years later. The Mongol general made two subsequent punitive expeditions, in the second of which the Burmese army was routed at Malé, a common Burmese place name, but apparently about a hundred miles south of Bhamo.

In the meantime, China had become aware of the existence of Burma, and had discovered in old annals that King Anawrat'ā had sent gold and silver vessels as a present to the Sung emperor. Kublai Khan maintained that this was tribute, and sent ambassadors to demand that it should be sent forthwith. The ambassadors had, in the king's view, Mongolian manners, and in spite of the protest of his Ministers he had them put to death. The result was the battle of Malé, and when Narathihapadé

heard of it he fled with his whole court to Bassein. The Mongol army is then asserted to have marched on and sacked Pagan. This is very unlikely, and seems to have been suggested by the certainty that the High Asia warriors knew nothing of Burma, and that the Burmese had a very imperfect knowledge of China. Both the Chinese annals and the Burmese Chronicle mention several "battles," but the fight at what the Burmese call the Ngatshaungyan stockade, and the Chinese the fortified post of Chiangt'ou, seems hardly worthy of the name. There was a big engagement at Vochan, and another at Malé. The main force in the first was undoubtedly Shan, and in the second Burmese, and in both the Mongols were triumphant. Pagan was indisputably sacked as a consequence, but Mr. E. H. Parker is very probably right when he says that the Pagan the Mongol army sacked was Old Pagan, that is to say, Tagaung, and that the Burmese capital was plundered and destroyed, not by them, but by the twice beaten Shan army, and the Burmese themselves, enraged alike by defeat and by the flight of their king, already unpopular because of the extravagance of his pagoda. It may be mentioned, however, that Mr. Taw Sein Ko suggests that possibly the Burmese Ngatshaungyan may be Marco Polo's Vochan, and that Chiangt'ou is Kaungtôn, but a "stockade" can hardly be the scene of a great battle, and T'ai-kung (Tagaung) was admittedly sacked. There certainly still exists at Pagan a stone with an inscription in Chinese and Mongolian characters. Only a very few of the Chinese characters are now legible, and it seems to have been erected more to prove that Pagan had been enrolled definitely as a tributary state than to record a famous victory.

Narathihapadé remained five months at Bassein, and for a time contemplated sailing for Ceylon, but resolved to return when he heard the Mongols had gone. He

got as far as Prome, where his son Thihathu poisoned him. There were two other sons, Uzana and Kyawswa, who disputed the succession, but it seems to have been rather a languid discussion, for it is not recorded that they killed one another, and Kyawswa, who was Governor of Dalla, succeeded. The Pagān monarchy had in fact melted away, and the territory had dwindled down to no more than the country round the capital. There had been for long an infiltration of Shans in the north, and this was greatly increased by the overthrow of the Tai kingdom of Nanchao. Kyawswa nominally reigned in Pagān for twelve years. There was a widow of his father who went by the name of Queen Saw, a woman of the ambitious and unscrupulous type not uncommon either in Burmese history, or the Burmese race, of whom the most notable example is the Supayā Lat, Thibaw's queen. Queen Saw persuaded Kyawswa to go to the dedication of a monastery in the north, where three Shan brothers held the country, and Kyawswa was seized and forced to put on the Yellow Robe. Either he, or a son of his, who was nominally King of Pagān, under the tutelage of Queen Saw, complained to the Chinese Emperor, and an army was sent down to "restore the tributary." A force was sent, but it was probably the "army of gleemen and jugglers" that Marco Polo refers to as having "a captain and a body of men-at-arms" to help them. It was all that was wanted, for a monk advised the three Shan brothers that "there can be no dispute when no matter for dispute remains," and they cut Kyawswa's head off and presented it to the Mongolian general as a proof that no further operations were necessary. This was done at an "entertainment," presumably given by the gleemen and jugglers, and they went home again.

This was the end of the Pagān monarchy, for there is no more mention of Queen Saw, and she was apparently left to rule over the paltry area round the city. Pagān,

though to-day it is deserted, remains the most notable of the Burmese capitals, of which there are very many, ruined and abandoned. It was in Pagān, under Anawrat'ā, that Burmese history begins. It was there that Burmese Buddhism took hold of the country, and it was there that Burmese script was formed. Above all, it is there that the temples remain which rival those of the Angkor Wat and of Boro Budur in Java, and it was the cradle of Burmese Pali literature. Pagān was not only the first real Burmese kingdom; it was the place where many commentaries were written, second to none in Buddhist literature.

It was not merely that the depraved Ari priests were suppressed. There were many jangling sects. There were the Maramma-samgha, the representatives of the old Mahāyānists, who lived on the bare plateau of the Kyaukku temple. There were the followers of Chapada, the Talaing. He had been to Ceylon and had received the Upasampadā ordination in the Mahā Vihāra there. He did not hesitate to denounce the Maramma-samgha religions as schismatics, not properly ordained according to the precepts of the Vināya, and therefore to be excommunicated, which he did not neglect to do. He would have no dealings with them and withdrew, to house himself and his fellow-monks in caves which still exist, two and a half miles to the south. There was also another Mōn group, who called themselves the Purima Bhikku-samgha, and claimed direct apostolic succession from Sona and Uttara, believed to have been sent by Asōka. There was bitter controversy between the parties, and the resulting treatises are very valuable to the student of Buddhism.

Apart from this there were numerous settlements of Buddhists, fugitives or immigrants from the Shan States, from Cambodia and Siam, from Nipal and China, and even from Ceylon itself, the holy island.

CHAPTER V

SHAN KINGS IN UPPER BURMA : FLUCTUATIONS IN LOWER BURMA

THE Shans are the second most numerous race in the Province. There were roughly a million of them at the last census-taking in 1921, or not quite 10 per cent., but they are far the most widely spread of the races of Indo-China and have cadet branches in the Hakka boat population of Canton, the Li of the interior of Hainan, and the Ahom of Assam, though none of these nationalities would admit it, and the Siamese possibly only do so because they cannot avoid it.

These call themselves Thai, and the national name for the Shans is Tai. We get the name Shan from the Burmese and it is not clear how they got it. In any case it is no great matter, for there is probably no race which goes by so many different appellations, ranging from Pai-i and Moi through P'o and Han to Nung-jen and Min-shia with a great number of variants. They have also six forms of written character, among the various branches.

Under the name of Ai or Ngai-lao they were floating down the Han and Yangtzu Rivers on rafts in A.D. 47. About A.D. 566 the great Emperor Wuti built a sort of Picts' Wall to protect the crossings of the Yangtzu, west of I-chang. It seems that even now they form a very considerable part of the population, not only of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou, but of the two Kwangs.

What concerns Burma, however, is that in A.D. 649 a

definite Shan kingdom was formed, with a capital ten miles north-west of Mêng-hwa Ting, to the south of Tali. The first ruler was Si Nu-lo, and it is asserted that he had thirty-two predecessors, covering a period of seventeen generations. This is the only tradition the Shans have, and it was probably drawn up in emulation of their neighbours on the Burma and China sides. There may have been a federation; indeed, at this time the Tai seem to have predominated over all South-Western China, but probably there was no president, except some chief who had more push and self-assertion than his neighbours. Even Si Nu-lo seems to have been little more than premier Sao-hpa or Sawbwa, which is the Tai title for their rulers. It corresponds to the Siamese royal Chao, and the Siamese resent its assumption by our modern tributary chiefs.

Si Nu-lo's great-grandson, Koh Lo-fêng, however, did overcome the national Tai tendency to break up rather than to coalesce, and Nan hao, or Ta, Mêng-Kuo, as the Chinese called it, really was a kingdom, and quite a formidable one, for a couple of hundred years, or two hundred and fifty-five if we take Si Nu-lo to be the first of the thirteen kings. Koh Lo-fêng became king in A.D. 748, and built his capital at Yangtsü-me, which in A.D. 764 received its present name of Tali. The Chinese were comparatively conciliatory, or prepared to be friendly, and gave to him the title of Hereditary Prince of Yün-nan, and to his son a Chinese princess of the Imperial House in marriage. In spite of this patronage, Koh Lo-fêng waged war on the Emperor, took a number of Chinese towns, and concluded an alliance with Tibet.

Successors of his sided alternately with Tibet and China, and defeated both of them, and raids were carried as far as Chêng-tu the capital of the modern wealthy province of S-u-ch'uan. But Chinamen steadily filtered into Nanchao, and early in the tenth century, the whole ruling house, to the number of 800 persons, were summarily

massacred. The leaders in this insurrection were a family of Chinese Shans called Twan. They were more Chinese than Tai, and during the three and a half centuries that they ruled the country, more and more Chinamen settled in Yün-nan, until, in 1254, Kublai Khan with his Mongols, made a final end of Nanchao, and China and Burma became co-terminous.

During all this time, however, swarms of Tai had migrated from the parent kingdom and established States of their own. Of the existing Shan States in British territory Möng Nai (Monè) claims to have been founded in 519 B.C. ; Hsen-wi (Theinni) in 441 B.C. ; and Hsipaw (Thibaw) in 423 B.C. That is as it may be, but it is at any rate certain that these States existed when Anawrat'ā consolidated the first Burma, and that he exerted, or claimed, suzerainty over them.

The Tai spread far beyond this. Just previous to the Mongolian irruption, the famous Tai general, Hkun Sam Lông, had conquered Assam, or Wésali, as the Burmans and Shans called it. Most of the army stayed there rather than come back to face the triumphant Kublai Khan, and they gradually became entirely Hinduized. Long before this they had founded the great States of Luang Prabang and Wying Chan (Vien-Chan or Lantsang), far down the Mèkhong. Finally, evicted by the Mongols, the main body drifted south, founded Ayuthia, and set up the kingdom of Siam.

There were others, however, who fled west and invaded Burma, and it is with these that we are concerned. According to the tale, these Shan brothers took possession of the upper country, and built themselves capitals at Myinsaing, south of Ava, Sagaing, on the opposite side of the river from Ava, and at Mekkhara. One of the three died, and the younger, Thihathu, then poisoned his elder brother and settled himself at Panya, between Myinsaing and Ava. He had a son by a Shan wife, who

was established at Sagaing, and by degrees came to assert his entire independence. This son was named Athinkaya and he had a fierce hatred for Uzana, the son of the widow of the ill-fated Kyawswa, who, after the latter had been beheaded, married Thihathu and prevailed upon him to name Uzana, his step-son, heir-apparent. This was often a perilous dignity in Burmese history, but Athinkaya was satisfied with declaring himself independent at Sagaing and with the extension of his borders as far as Manipur. Thihathu apparently considered the poisoning of his brother and the assumption of the style and titles of King of Pagān sufficient proof of self-assertion, and left his son and stepson to raise armed forces and gird at one another. It did not go beyond that, and consequently Sagaing remained for forty-nine years an independent kingdom, with a sequence of rulers, most of whom killed their predecessors. Finally, there remained a daughter of the first king, Athinkaya, who had married a young man whose exact parentage was unknown, but who is asserted by the Court annalist to have been a descendant of the ancient kings of Tagaung. He soon died, but he left a son named Yahula, who was destined to restore Upper Burma to one rule again, under the title of Thadominbya. In the meantime, the widow married a Shan chief, whose name is given as Mōngbyauk, and who, as Prince Consort, succeeded to the Sagaing kingship.

Thihathu remained quietly, first at Myinsaing, and then at Panya, and died peacefully. Uzana duly succeeded, but was merely a label, probably because Athinkaya was pushing out his borders to the north. After twenty years he tired of it, abdicated, and became a hermit.

His half-brother, Kyawswa, a son of Thihathu and Tayôkpyi Min's widow, succeeded, and took the title of Nga-si Shin, because he claimed to own five white elephants,



BUFFALOES ARE TRADED FOR ARTS OVER COUNTRY ROADS

the emblem of universal sovereignty. This impelled him to try to get Sagaing into his hands, but he failed, and died after eight years' reign and was succeeded by two sons, one after the other, who were equally futile. This parish pump squabbling was characteristically Shan and it gave Thadominbya his chance. He had some unpleasant experiences before it came.

At this time Mogaung, then called Möng Kawng, an offshoot of Nanchao, and quite a powerful principality, got into trouble with the Governor of Yün-nan. Möng Kawng is almost certainly the "Kingdom of Pöng" of which there is much respectful mention in old chronicles. No doubt Yün-nan demanded tribute and did not get it, and consequently sent an army, which, after two years, sacked the town. The ruler, Su-ngan-hpa, escaped and fled to Sagaing. The Mongol, or Chinese Governor, demanded his surrender, and he was given up accordingly, and Mogaung was left to itself again.

No doubt the Mogaung Sawbwa wanted some place to loot to make up for the plunder the Yün-nan army had carried off. Also he was incited by the ruler of Panya who wanted to get Sagaing into his hands. Therefore, first of all, he attacked Tagaung, where Yahula had been installed as governor from Sagaing, and very soon took it; but Yahula managed to escape, and fled to Sagaing, where his step-father, the Shan Möngbyauk, promptly put him in gaol. The Mogaung forces, however, now marched on Sagaing, and Möngbyauk abandoned the town and went south. The Mogaung Sawbwa now saw a chance of more plunder, and attacked Panya, on the other side of the river, on the plea that the king there should have helped to capture Möngbyauk and did not. He had no difficulty in overwhelming it, and carried off Narathu, the last king, as his prisoner.

This was the end of the little principalities. Panya is now the insignificant village of Pinya. Sagaing, with

its pagodas on the rocky hill, remains one of the most picturesque points on the Irrawaddy, when it is viewed from Ava, on the other side of the river, but it shows little signs of having been a great capital.

The Mogaung Sawbwa went home with his spoil and left the destroyed cities to their own devices. The Sagaing people were annoyed with Mōngbyauk for having run away and Thadominbya saw his opportunity. He captured his step-father and put him to death, and crossed over to Panya, where there was a dummy princeling in nominal authority, and served him in the same way. Then he set about re-establishing the Burma kingdom which the Shans had broken up. He was asserted to be descended from the old Tagaung line of kings. He was certainly grandson of Athinkaya, the King of Sagaing, and, through his mother, connected with the Kings of Pagān. As if to give himself a further caste-mark, he married a lady named Saw Um-ma, who had already been the consort of three kings, Kyaw'swa, Narathu and Uzana Byaung, the last being the make-shift ruler who ended the Panya line of kings, and had just been put to death. He determined to found a Central Upper Burma kingdom and to give it distinction he built himself a new capital at Ava, near the point where the Myit-ngè, or Doktawādi, flows with the Irrawaddy. Ava was destined to be the capital of Burma so often that our Foreign Office, for many years, persisted in writing of the kingdom of Ava regardless of temporary migrations. According to ancient custom, Ava was given a classical name by the Burmese—Ratanapura, the City of Gems.

Thadominbya immediately set about conquering the country to the south, and there are contradictory statements about how much he recovered, but he only reigned four years. He contracted small-pox while besieging the town of Singu and died before he could return to Ava. He sent orders that his queen should be put to death

so that she might not fall to his successor, according to the habit she had contracted. Burmese historians remark demurely that he was not notable for his religious habits and that he had a tendency to cruelty.

The throne was then offered to Hilawa, the Governor of Yamèthin, but he preferred a reasonable prospect of life to the dignity of king, and Talabya Sao-kè, Governor of Amyin, was elected in his stead and took the name of Mingyiswa Sao-kè. He proceeded to carry out the plans of his predecessor.

The whole of the low country at this time was broken up into a series of governorships, as a result of the overthrow of the Pagān monarchy. There were district rulers in Pagān, Prome, Thayet, Pegu, and Martaban, some of whom called themselves kings, or were so called by the Chronicles that have survived. Mingyiswa Sao-kè had therefore a comparatively easy task, but what with murders and coalitions and outside alliances, the chronicling of events is not so readily disentangled.

The dominating figure, however, is Wareru (or Wayiyu), who made himself King of Martaban (the Burmese Môtama). He began life as Magadu, a plain merchant of Martaban and, in so far, was beneath the notice of the Royal Chronicle, without some prinking but. These embellishments, however, are supplied. He possessed himself of a white elephant and ran away with a king's daughter. The king was the ruler of Sukhotai-Sawankalôk and the elephant presumably came from the Mènam jungles. Magadu's native place was Chiangmai (the Burmese Zimmè, the Iamahay of Fitch, and probably the Timplan of Mendez Pinto), and he had made a great deal of money in Martaban and acquired distinction from his wife, who probably also had ambitions. At any rate, with the assistance of Lao Shans from Zimmè, he raised a rebellion and killed Alienma, the Burmese Governor of Martaban.

From this point the Mahā Yāzawin suppresses the merchant Magadu, and tells of the King of Martaban, Wareru. Events conspired in his favour. Before Tayōk-pyi Min had fled from the Chinese, a rebellion had started in Hansawadi (Pegu). The Burmese officer in charge had married a Talaing lady and proclaimed the independence of the Talaing capital. The King of Pagān sent an army to enforce his authority, but the revolting governor, who is styled Akhamwun, probably a title rather than a name, defeated it and proclaimed himself King of Pegu. He was killed by his Talaing brother-in-law, Longgya, who in his turn was murdered by another relation, Talabya.

Another army came from Pagān to recover Pegu and stockaded itself at Dalla, opposite the modern Rangoon. Talabya called in the new King of Martaban, Wareru, to help him, and the two forces drove the Burmese army back. Then a quarrel broke out between the two kings, and Talabya was routed, made prisoner, and carried off to be put to death later at Martaban. Wareru then assumed the title of Sinbyushin, Lord of the White Elephant, which implied universal sovereignty. This excited the indignation and cupidity of the Shan Kings of Myinsaing and Panya, and they sent an army to get possession of the sacred animal, but this was defeated, and Wareru was left in peace till the two grandsons of Talabya, who had now grown up, murdered him and were in their turn murdered by the populace.

Wareru was succeeded by his brother, Hkun Law, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Siam, but was nevertheless attacked by the King of Chiangmai, and put to death by his brother-in-law for not sufficiently resisting him. This brother-in-law diffidently put his son on the throne, perhaps because the youth was married to a daughter of the King of Siam. In spite of this relationship, the young king took possession of Tavoy

and Tenasserim, but when he in turn was succeeded by his brother, the King of Siam took these districts back again, and Sao Hsip, the brother, perhaps for this reason, moved his capital from Martaban to Pegu, assumed the title of Binyaranda, and tried to take possession of Prome, but was defeated and slain. There was then a confused succession of usurpers, who killed and were killed, varied by incursions from Siam. The Siamese and the Talaing records are at variance as to the outcome of these, but the Talaing records are perhaps the more trustworthy, for the Pegu rulers went on killing one another, or being poisoned by their wives, and the Siamese invading forces retired to their homes, bearing tribute according to the Siamese account, or saving their skins, if we are to believe the Talaings.

In the wearisome account of the internal and external jars two interesting facts come out. While King Ba-nya-u was in the jungle, trying to catch a white elephant to replace the one he had that had died, Bya-ta-ba, his half-brother, seized Pegu and kept the king out with the help of cannon, which are now for the first time mentioned, and Ba-nya-u had to retire to Dun-wun, Wareru's ancestral village. There he remained until Bya-ta-ba firmly established himself in Martaban, whereupon Ba-nya-u returned to Pegu, and Martaban and Pegu once more became separate and independent territories. Ba-nya-u's trials, however were not yet over, for his son Ba-nya-ngwe rebelled against him and raised a force of Mahomedan adventurers. This was a foreshadowing of the "Portugals" who figured so largely over a century later. Thanks to these, the son triumphed, but the king, Ba-nya-u, died while fighting was still going on. This was perhaps fortunate, for it saved the son from adding to the numerous list of parricides. At the same time it has in justice to be noted that the rising was due to the fact that the uxorious Ba-nya-u had

disinherited Ba-ngya-ngwe in favour of his stepsons, the children of a favourite queen, and that Ba-ngya-ngwe, on succeeding to the throne, as he did when his father died, not only did not kill his step-mother, but even treated her well, or at any rate with respect.

It may also be explained that the rendering of the names varies accordingly as the Siamese, the Talaing, or the Burman Chronicles are followed. Ba-ngya-ngwe becomes the Burmese Pinya-nwè, and the Ngwe is really the Siamese Noi, meaning small, or the lesser. Ba-ngya-ngwe simplified the problem by taking the ruling title of Rajadirit, under which he became perhaps the most notable of the Talaing kings.

He very soon came into collision with Mingyiswa Sao-kè, the second of the kings who ruled at Ava, who was carrying out the plans for the extension of the unified Upper Burma formed by Thadominbya.

There was in Myaungmya a governor called Laukbya, who is called a member of the royal family, and who seems likely to have been one of the step-sons who nearly supplanted Rajadirit. At any rate he cordially disliked the new King of Pegu and suggested to Mingyiswa Sao-kè that, since he had gathered in Pagān, Thayet, and Prome, it was clear that Pegu should now be added, and mentioned himself as a suitable tributary king of the Talaing State.

Accordingly two armies, under sons of Mingyiswa Sao-kè, set out from Ava. One marched down parallel to the Shan Hills, along the course of the Hpaunglaung River, which lower down becomes the Sittang; the other, accompanied by a fleet of war boats, went down the Irrawaddy. The Irrawaddy column got as far as Hlaing, a village north of the present Rangoon. The Hpaunglaung column passed Taung-ngu and got to Pang Yaw, half-way to Pegu. They should have struck together, but they did not, and Rajadirit crushed the Hlaing army

and the rains defeated the Sittang forces in the rice-swamps of Pegu. The two princes, therefore, went back baffled to Ava, and Rajadirit sent envoys after them with presents suggesting that peace was desirable.

This was the wrong policy with the arrogant Burman, and Mingyiswa Sao-kè rejected the presents, which is uncivil anywhere and a flagrant insult in Burma, and came down himself the following year with a formidable army. He again got as far as Hlaing, but Rajadirit had stockaded himself at Hmawbi, and held out till the rains came again, so the Burmese retreated once more, and Rajadirit followed as far as Prome, but did not venture to attack that town.

It was clear that Mingyiswa Sao-kè had no inclination to be friendly, or even peaceable, so Rajadirit determined to settle with troublesome neighbours. He marched on Martaban, where Bya-ta-ba, who had displaced his father, was still in possession. Bya-ta-ba fled to Siam but left two Mahomedan officers to fight for him. They were defeated, and Martaban was again added to Pegu. Rajadirit then proceeded to punish his implacable enemy Laukbya, at Myaungmya in the Bassein district, which was then a considerable port. It was, however, so strongly fortified that he passed on and attacked Bassein instead. Laukbya's three sons were in command there, and they had apparently a contingent of Indian adventurers. At any rate they had what are called cannon, but were probably merely gingals or culverins. Rajadirit was beaten off and his general was killed in action. This success, however, was Laukbya's undoing, for he came out with his troops into the open, was defeated and taken prisoner, and Myaungmya surrendered. One of Laukbya's sons fled to Sandoway in Arakan, but was extradited and made a pagoda slave of the Shwe Dagôn. The other two escaped north and were appointed Governors of Salin and Prome, respectively, by Mingyiswa

Sao-kè. None of the chroniclers think it necessary to say what became of Laukbya himself.

Mingyiswa Sao-kè did not again attack the Talaing country, and in 1401 he died and was succeeded by his son, Sinbyushin, who was murdered by the Governor of Tagaung within seven months, and his brother Mêng Hkawng took his place on the throne.

Rajadirit now had some comparatively peaceful years, which he employed in beautifying Pegu, restoring and extending its defences, and entering into friendly correspondence with the King of Siam, who claimed him as one of the same race as himself. This was the beginning of the glories of Pegu which so greatly impressed early European travellers.

But the Peguans and the Avans had become confirmed enemies and when, shortly after his accession, Mêng Hkawng marched over the hills to Arakan to punish a frontier raid, Rajadirit thought the opportunity to revenge Mingyiswa Sao-kè's incursions too good to be lost. Therefore with an army and a flotilla he marched up the Irrawaddy. He passed by Prome, which was apparently defended by "cannon" brought from Bassein by Laukbya's son, and Rajadirit had none. On the other hand, Mêng Hkawng had no war boats capable of resisting the low-country flotilla, and the Peguans reached Sagaing and Ava. Ava was, however, too strong to be carried by assault, and Rajadirit was not prepared to sit down and besiege it. A convenient monk appeared, who preached to him the wickedness and the miseries of war. The Péguan king was so impressed that he dismantled the floating palace in which he had come up the river and built a monastery with it, at Shwe-kyet-yet, the pagoda which still stands on the river bank near Amarapura, and then marched back home again.

The effects of the sermon were not, however, very permanent. Rajadirit very reasonably decided that as

long as the Burmese held Prome there was a standing threat to Pegu, so, after the next rains were over, he came up again with his war boats and a large army. The main body sat down on the hills overlooking the town on the right bank of the Irrawaddy. The fleet held the river, and a wing entrenched itself north of the town. But Mêng Hkawng came down by land and overwhelmed this isolated detachment. The blockade was thus a failure, notwithstanding that the Peguan flotilla ravaged all the riverside country, almost as far as the present Minbu. It was thus a drawn game, and the two kings met at the Shwe San-daw pagoda and swore friendship, and to prove it Rajadirit added Mêng Hkawng's sister to the number of his queens.

Mêng Hkawng, however, was not satisfied with the punishment of Arakan, and sent an army over there, and in order to keep Rajadirit occupied, dispatched letters to Chiangmai requesting the chief to create trouble on the Sittang side. The messengers were caught and killed, and Rajadirit thought the Shwe San-daw agreement no longer binding, and determined to spoil the Ava plans in Arakan. He therefore sent an army to Sandoway and when Kamaru, Mêng Hkawng's son-in-law, was appointed Viceroy of Arakan, in place of the king, who had fled to Bengal, the Peguans marched north, captured the Myohaung, the old capital of Arakan, and took Kamaru prisoner. He was carried off to Bassein and put to death, and his wife, Mêng Hkawng's daughter, was added to Rajadirit's harem.

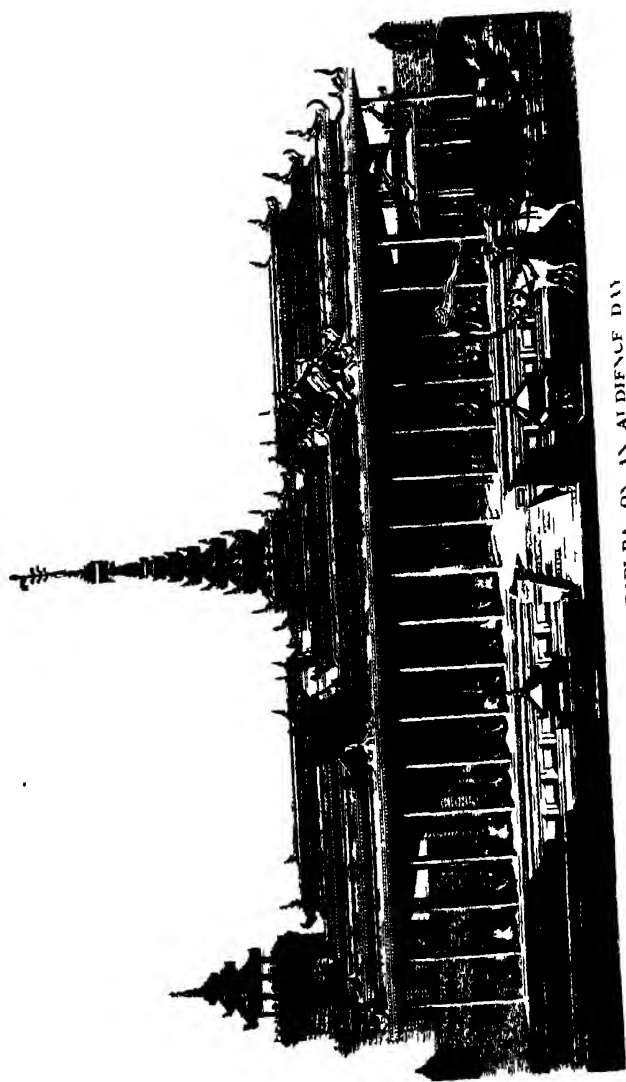
Mêng Hkawng's temper was further ruffled by a rebellion started by his brother, who was offended because he had not been designated heir-apparent. The rebel was soon defeated and then took refuge in Pegu. The King of Ava promptly decided on war and was unwise enough to begin it in April, when the rains were not far off. He took the land route down the Hpaunglaung and through

Taungngu. There was a great deal of burning and ravaging, but the rains put an end to it and Mêng Hkawng fell back on his capital again. These attacks and counter attacks had no result, except to lay the country waste and to embitter the hostility between Burmans and Peguans.

Mêng Hkawng had had enough fighting, but his eldest son, Mingyi Kyawswa, whose mother had been taken prisoner near Prome, and his sister in Arakan, when her husband, Kamaru, the governor, was killed, was eager to have revenge, though he was only seventeen years old. He descended on the Bassein district, but did not do much, though Rajadirit had his forces divided by a demonstration from Chiangmai, against Martaban. The prince, therefore, crossed over into Arakan and expelled the regent whom the Peguan King had appointed there. But Pegu had the advantage of ship transport. Troops came to Sandoway and the Burmese regent was very soon driven out.

The Burmese prince had been called away by trouble in the northern Shan States, probably stirred up by Rajadirit, as a counter stroke to the Chiangmai menace. The Sawbwa of Hsenwi was killed in battle, but his sons defended themselves in the capital and sent to Yün-nan for help from the Chinese. A Chinese force came, but Mingyi Kyawswa fell upon it on the march and Hsenwi surrendered.

This gave the Talaings an opportunity to attack Prome again, and the town was invested, but news of a Siamese army marching on Martaban, called Rajadirit off, and the young Burman prince, having ended the Hsenwi trouble, made his appearance at Prome again and the Talaings were driven back. Mingyi Kyawswa pushed on after them, and burnt and ravaged as far as Dalla and Syriam. The king, his father, apparently thought that at last Pegu was about to fall, and came south to enter in



THE PALACE AMARAPURA ON AN AUDIENCE DAY

triumph, but more trouble in the Shan States called him back in his turn, and there was further clashing with the Chinese. The prince had meanwhile gone back to revenge his previous rebuff in Bassein, but he was killed in battle.

After this Mêng Hkawng and Rajadirit came to the conclusion that both countries were too exhausted to make anything but a draw possible, and they both set to work to make their souls, and devoted themselves to good works. Mêng Hkawng died in 1422 after a reign of twenty-one years, and Rajadirit met his death, the year after, in a wild elephant hunt. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

The adventures of the Burmese and the Talaings in Arakan, besides doing a great deal of mischief, drove that kingdom into alliance into Bengal. King Sôm-wun remained for twenty-four years an exile at Gaur, and helped Bengal in its resistance to the emperors of Delhi. As a reward he was restored, and thus began a connection with Bengal which lasted for two hundred years. The Arakanese called it an alliance; the Bengalis referred to them as their tributaries. They squabbled with one another persistently over the possession of Chittagong, but the capital which Sôm-wun founded at Myauk-u, in place of the old one at Laung-kyet, lasted for four hundred years, until Arakan was finally conquered by Bodaw Payā.

The two pugnacious kings were succeeded by rather feckless sons. Thihathu became King of Ava and Pinya Dhamma Yazā King of Pegu. There was, indeed, a little of the fighting between the upper and lower kingdoms, but it was confined to the outlying parts and it went on more because it had become a habit than for any more ambitious reason. There was also a good deal of promiscuous killing and of poisoning of husbands by their queens, stock subjects with the old chroniclers when they have not real wars, matters of religion, or miraculous

events to record. Repeated campaigns had no doubt worn the people out, and there was a succession of kings with short reigns whose names are not worth recording, the more since the list of royal titles was not very extensive.

There were also royal inter-marriages, a sign of policy rather than of enterprise. A King of Pegu married a niece of the Burman king. A King of Ava received a sister of the Talaing ruler as his bride. The latter alliance proved rather disastrous for Burma. The chief queen at Ava was a Shan lady, and she fiercely resented the appearance of a rival in the Western Palace, where the ladies of the Court lived, all the more because the new queen had been married before. She therefore called in the Chief of Ônpawng (the present Hsipaw) and though the Hsipaw Shans were beaten off by the Avans, the king was wounded and fled to Mo-hnyin, and Upper Burma had an unpleasant experience with confused fighting against various Shan chiefs—Myedu, Kale, Mông Kawng (Mogaung) Mo-hnyin and Ônpawng—ending up in an invasion by an army from China. There is, however, a suspicion that the Royal Chronicle is repeating itself, for the reason given for the attack was the demand for the surrender of Sao Ngan Hpa, a chief of Mogaung who had thrown off his allegiance to Yün-nan, and the same story was told a hundred years before. There was no real fighting, however, for Sao Ngan Hpa took poison, the Burmans handed over his body, and the Chinese army, having obligingly subdued a rebellion against the Burman king at Yamèthin, went back to China. Notwithstanding that it was not an actual war, it may be taken for granted that the towns and villages on the line of march saw very little difference. The outcome of all the confused fighting in Upper Burma was that the Chief of Mo-hnyin took Ava by storm and put his son on the throne under the title of Thohan Bya (the Shan Sao Han Hpa.)

Sao Bo Mè, the lady from Pegu, who had been the immediate cause of all this trouble, found the situation in Ava little to her taste, and with the aid and escort of two monks, made her way back to Pegu. Pegu itself was at peace, but there was bloodshed in the royal family. After some nephews and others had come to violent ends, she was the only one of Rajadirit's descendants left, and the Talaings beseeched her to take over the Government. She consented, married her daughter to one of the monks, after he had killed the other, ascended the throne with the title of Shin Sawbu and devoted herself to pious works at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda and the Shwe Maw-daw at Pegu, as well as to the embellishment of the capital itself. She reigned for seven years and was then succeeded by her son-in-law the ex-monk, who took the title of Dhammazedi, and had, as a matter of fact, carried on the administration throughout.

Except for the one lapse, when he killed his brother monk, Dhammazedi was quite a creditable king. He had put off his yellow robe first and it is quite probable that he thought he was saving many lives by taking the one. According to established custom there would have been a rebellion if he had not removed a possible head of it. He was forty years of age when he became king in 1460, and he reigned for thirty-one years; and during all that time Pegu was becoming the notable capital which excited the admiration of the European adventurers who were about to come. His people were naturally pleased to be able to sleep quietly in their beds of nights, and there sprang up a trade with Acheen, Malacca, and the east coast of Southern India. Envoys came to visit him from Ceylon, China, Siam, and even from Ava, and he extended Peguan territory by taking over Maing Lungyi without fighting. Therefore, when he died, his people set up a pagoda over his ashes and worshipped him as a Chakravartti, or universal monarch. He was succeeded by his son,

Pinya Ran, who broke the peace by attacking Taung-ngu, but was defeated and decided to leave it at that. Otherwise he allowed his people to go on prospering and at rest. He reigned thirty-five years and died in 1526. The Italian traveller who visited Pegu at this time credits him with "great magnificence and generosity," and further says that he was "of such humanity and affability, that a child may come to his presence and speak with him."

This was very creditable to him and gratifying to the Peguans, who had also the demure satisfaction of seeing the distracted state of Upper Burma. There the King of Ava hardly dared to say how far his authority extended from the city gates. Prome declared itself independent. Salin and Yamèthin did as they pleased, without troubling about any declaration. The Shan chiefs, Mo-hnyin, Möng Kawng, Ônpawng, and Myedu, played with Burman kings as if they were toys, and in the intervals fought with one another. Arakan was thankful to be let alone and was much more interested in events on the Bengal side. It was an age of adventure, and Taung-ngu seized the opportunity to proceed from obscurity to independence and from that to domination. Tabin Shweti became King of Kings, overwhelmed Pegu, invaded Siam, and prepared the way for the purging of Upper Burma of the Shans and for restoring the power of the Burmans.

CHAPTER VI

THE TAUNG-NGU DYNASTY. THE BRAHMA KINGS

TAUNG-NGU is about half-way between Pegu and Ava or Mandalay, with the flat rice-lands of the delta to the south of it, and a belt of dense forest, extending up to the so-called Dry Zone, on the north. The barrier range of the Irrawaddy and Salween Valleys, inhabited by Karens, is not far off to the east, and on the west the thousand feet hills of the Pegu Yoma act as a defence. Taung-ngu was therefore comparatively isolated, and for long had served as a sort of asylum for the patriotic and the disaffected, from both Ava and Pegu and elsewhere. It was not easy to get at ; it was not worth looting, and with the hill fastnesses as a place of retreat for the stubborn, it was difficult to control from a distance. Burmese notables who objected to the domination of the Shans, came there in a steady stream, and when Sao Han Hpa proposed to massacre all the monks in Ava, there was a migration of the Holy Order and its supporters, so that Taung-ngu became in time the most Burman part of Burma.

Narapati, one of the Pagān kings, is said to have put in a governor. Wayiyu (Wareru), the Shan King of Martaban, carried off a princeling who claimed to be independent. Thihathu, of Panya, sent his adopted son, Uzana, to be governor, and there was a succession of rulers nominally subject to Ava. But they all of them drifted away, and even joined Pegu in enterprises against the

Upper Country. Some of these "kings" were distinctly objectionable anywhere, which was the reason, perhaps, for their dispatch to Taung-ngu. One in particular, Sithu Kyaw-têng is styled a *bilu*, a devourer of men, by the Mahā Yāzawin, and reigned for eleven years with the title of king, which he gave himself in a state of insobriety. Then there appeared a person of some credit who came into power by assassinating the son of the *bilu*. The King of Ava at the time was Dutiya Mêng Hkawng, who had his hands full with invading Shans and was in fact put to death soon afterwards by Sao Han Hpa from Mo-hnyin. He sent Mêng Kyi-nyo, this self-appointed prince, a white umbrella and other paraphernalia of royalty, which amounted to a recognition of independence. The Royal Chronicle justifies this by tracing Mêng Kyi-nyo's descent through both father and mother from the last King of Pagān, and also collaterally from the first Shan King of Panya. The reason for this is that he was the father of Mintay'a, known later as Tabin Shweti, and one of the national heroes, who became Prince of Taung-ngu in 1530.

Tabin Shweti was an energetic and capable young man. He was also proud of his ancestry, unless, indeed, it was invented to justify his ambitious aims. In those days no one dreamed of boasting that he was self-made. He applied, instead, to the local monk, or the nearest libretto writer, and obtained a story that he was an avatar of some distinguished character, or the offspring of some wheedling Pythoness. Tabin Shweti, or his father for him, claimed descent from the Conquerors, Anawrat'ā on the south, and Athin-hkaya, the Shan, on the north. That was an index of what was to come, and four years careful preparation did the rest. The situation in Ava was rather like a promiscuous dog-fight. Pegu had become slack through prosperous trade and zealous pious works. The peaceful Pinya Ran had been succeeded by a rackety

son, Takarut-bi, who was no more than fifteen years of age.

There was a majority of fugitive Burmese in Taungngu, and they would have preferred to attack Ava first, but they were easily persuaded that the northern kingdom was not in a position to attack anybody, whereas a flourishing Pegu was not desirable to have in the rear. Moreover, the Peguans were hereditary enemies, and Pegu offered great prospects of loot.

Therefore, in 1534, Tabin Shweti attacked Pegu. The town, however, was well defended by two Shan generals in command of the Talaings and a company of mercenaries, both Indian Mahomedans and European adventurers, and he had to retreat when the rains came on, and had no better success in the following year, though he defeated a Talaing army in the open, north of Pegu, and passed on to capture Dalla, Bassein, Myaung-mya, and other fortified places in the delta. Takarut-bi then proposed peace and sent the two Shan *Bos* as his envoys. Tabin Shweti was, however, crafty as well as ambitious. He sent no formal reply, but contrived that a letter to the two Shans, implying that they were playing the Peguan king false, should fall into Takarut-bi's hands. They were therefore executed, and Tabin Shweti marched on Pegu for the third time.

The Portuguese viceroy at Goa had sent a galliot to trade in Pegu under Ferdinand de Morales and he joined in the fight. Faria y Sousa gives the following account of it:—

“ The Viceroy sent Ferdinand de Morales with a great Galeon, laden on the King's account, to Trade at Pegu. As soon as arrived at that Port, the King won him with Promises and Favours, to aid him against the King of Brama, who invaded that Country with such a Power, that the two Armies consisted of two millions of men and 10,000 elephants. Morales went into a Galliot and Commanding the Fleet of Pegu, made great havock

among the Enemies Ships. Brama came on by land like a torrent, carrying all before him, and his Fleet covering the River, though as great as Ganges. With this Power he easily gained the City and Kingdom of Pegu. Ferdinand Morales met the Fleet with his, in respect of the other scarce visible, at the Point Ginamarrecá, where was a furious, bloody, and desperate fight. But the Pegu's, overpowered by the Brama's, deserted Morales, who alone in his Galeot maintained himself against the Enemies, performing Wonders with vast slaughter of them, till oppressed by the Multitude, he was killed. But the Memory of his Bravery still lives among those people."

There was also a hint of treachery on the part of some of Takarut-bi's leading officers, and perhaps this explained why it was that the town was not given over to be plundered, a sufficiently remarkable circumstance in those days, and how it was that Takarut-bi was able to escape and make his way to Prome, where the "king" gave him protection all the more readily because an army came down from Ava to check Tabin Shweti's enterprises.

It does not appear clearly whether the Taung-ngu ruler went there himself. No name is mentioned except that of Kyaw-hteng Nawrat'ā, the general afterwards famous under the name of Buyin Naung. He married Tabin Shweti's sister and was appointed heir-apparent, though not by the title of *Engshemin* which is the Burmese form. Buyin Naung captured most of the Ava war boats, but there was no land action, and the Pegu army marched back again. Takarut-bi tried in vain to persuade his allies to pursue the retreating army, and set off himself with a handful of followers. This was the end of him. He disappeared, but whether murdered, killed in action, or carried off by disease, is not recorded. He was the last king of the dynasty founded by Wareru. Shan influence therefore perished in the south. It was about to be put an end to in the north.

Tabin Shweti, after an interval to make administrative arrangements in Pegu, which he now took for his capital, set out against Martaban, then a great port, so considerable as to have concluded, through Antony Correa, a commercial treaty with the Viceroy of Goa. Tabin Shweti summoned the Governor of Martaban to surrender, but he refused, no doubt trusting to the support of the Portuguese and other foreigners, of whom he had a fair number in his pay. He also, probably, counted on support from the Siam side, since, to judge from his title—Sao Pinya—he was Shan, rather than Talaing or Burman.

Tabin Shweti, also had a band of mercenaries under Giovanni Caeyro, while the foreign forces inside the town were commanded by Paulo de Seixas of Obidos, joined, for a time, by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who had come up from Malacca with authority from the governor there to confirm the treaty and league of peace. Pinto had thus some sort of authority, but the others were mere hireling adventurers, without any respect for orders from either Malacca or Goa, and apparently Seixas's band, though not Seixas himself, abandoned the town when the end became clear.

Martaban was well defended. Seven heavily armed European ships, manned by Indians, and this swash-buckler scum, probably half-caste, held the port, and on the landward side formidable earthworks and a deep moat seemed to make assault impossible. Buyin Naung was commander-in-chief, and one cannot help thinking that a great part of Tabin Shweti's military reputation was due to him. Tabin Shweti would probably have squandered lives in an impetuous attempt to rush the defences, but Branginoço, as the Portuguese called Buyin Naung, just as they converted Takarut-bi into Dacha Rupi, sat down to a siege, and it lasted seven months.

There were several attempts at assault, but they failed, and eventually Sao Pinya surrendered the town on con-

dition that his life was spared. It was not. He and a number of his chief officials had stones tied to their necks and were flung into the sea. The Portuguese historians, not Pinto alone, were given to exaggeration and were accustomed to the lawless ferocity of their fellow-countrymen, but one hopes that the assertion is not true that Sao Pinya's wife and four children, together with a hundred and forty of the ladies of the Court, were put to death, hung by their feet on gallows set up on the high ground opposite Maulmein.

Martaban was sacked, set on fire, and so utterly destroyed that it remained a mere petty townlet until, in quite recent times, it became the terminus of the railway from Rangoon.

Immense booty was obtained, so that there may be some justification for the extravagant language about the glories of Pegu, used by Ralph Fitch and others a little over a generation later. We may take the date of the fall of Martaban given by the Portuguese 1544-5, to be correct, rather than that of the Burmese Chronicles which put it four years earlier. Mr. Symns, the author of *Horace in Burma*, condenses the Portuguese chroniclers in his *When Pinto came to Martaban*.

WHEN PINTO CAME TO MARTABAN.

They kissed the cross upon their dirks,
Fit emblem of their piety,
And called on Christ to bless their works
From *Avaa* to *Tanassery*;
Did conscience smite before a shrine—
"For God and king"—the murmur ran
Like thunder down the bearded line,
When Pinto came to Martaban.

Seven hundred *Portugals*—they smiled
To see the first-fruits of their toil,
A frightened queen, a wondering child,
A cart that creaked beneath the spoil.

The sunlight kissed each brave cuirass,
It shone o'er *helm* and *partisan*,
On *arquebus* and *courtelas*,
When Pinto came to Martaban.

They lined the hot and dusty strand,
Glad hearts, who knew the path they'd trod,
Meant three-score thousand ducats and—
The greater glory of their God ;
They'd dared the wrath of cloudless skies,
They'd worked the guns and held the van
And who should rob them of their prize,
When Pinto came to Martaban ?

They chained their prisoners 'gainst the tide,
They mocked their struggles from the bank,
They heaved across the *lauler* side
The sacks that fought before they sank,
The pagan prayer, the choking breath,
Could these prevail, could these unman
Those Christian souls who played with death,
When Pinto came to Martaban ?

* * * *

The sea to-day has fled her shore
And left behind a greener plain,
Where once the crazy galliots bore
Their *camphire*, spice and *pourcelain* :
As though the waves would wish untold
The tales of strife, that first began
In those mad reckless days of old,
When Pinto came to Martaban.

J. M. S.

Posts were established east of Maulmein to guard against possible attacks from Chiengmai and Siam, and then Tabin Shweti marched back to Pegu where he was formally consecrated King of Kings according to the old Burmese ritual. He, and the Mahā Yāzawin for him, steadily maintain that he was Burmese both in descent and as a sovereign, but he was careful to conciliate the Talaings, who were the vast majority of his subjects, and

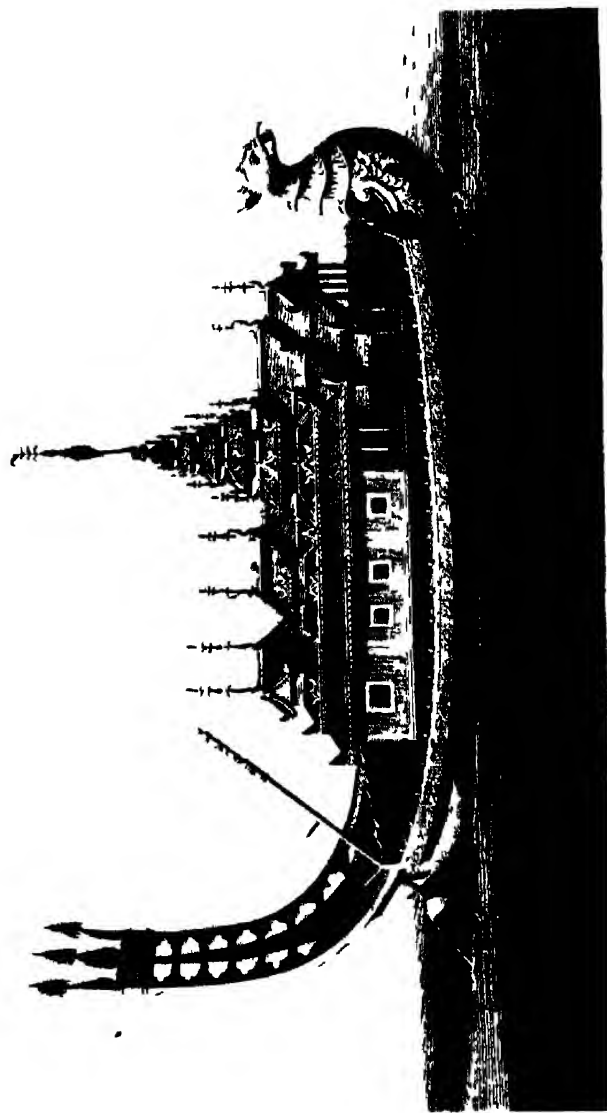
he crowned the Shwe Dagôn and the Shwe Maw-daw, the national shrine at Pegu, with new *hti*, or umbrellas.

This was a side-blow and a warning to Sao Han Hpa, the intruding Mohnyin King of Ava, who had created great scandal by his infidelity. He had assembled great numbers of monks at Taung Balu and slaughtered some hundreds of them, besides burning religious books in their monasteries. The Mahā Yāzawin gives him a bad character. "He was of a cruel and savage disposition. He spared not men's lives. He respected not the three treasures. Pagodas, he used to say, are not the *Payā*, but merely fictitious vaults in which the Burmese deposit gold, silver, and jewels; so he dug into and rifled the shrines of their treasures. The *pôngyis*, too, he used to say, have no wives and children, and under pretence of gathering disciples, collect guards around them, ready to rise in rebellion."

So it happened that when Tabin Shweti marched against Prome again, the army which Sao Han Hpa led to the support of his nominal tributary was only very half-hearted. Moreover, Tabin Shweti had a force of artillery, served by Portuguese gunners, which played a considerable part in the rout of the army from Ava and the withdrawal of an Arakan force which had come to assist, as well as of the flotilla which had sailed round to Bassein to create a diversion.

Sao Han Hpa was thus still less agreeable to his subjects, and while he was at a temporary palace near Ava, his guards were overpowered, and as the Royal Chronicle euphemistically puts it: "He was seen no more."

There had been a variety of Shan chiefs in the Avan army that tried to relieve Prome, and from among them Hkun Mōng-awn was chosen to succeed the Mohnyin prince. Hkun Maing-ngè, as the Burmans called him, came from Ônpawng, the present Hsipaw. He realized



A 'ROYAL GOLDFEN BARGI', 1705

that Tabin Shweti at Prome was a permanent menace, and marched down with a mixed Shan and Burmese army. Meanwhile, however, Prome, like Martaban, had been reduced by famine. The Mahā Yāzawin says the king and queen were taken off to Taung-ngu and so dismisses them, but Pinto, who was with the Pegu army, conscripted as a gunner, gives a very different account: "The queen [who was a sister of Sao Han Hpa] was publicly whipped and delivered up to the lust of the soldiers until she died. The young king [he was said to be thirteen, while the queen was thirty-six] was tied to her dead body and cast into the river. The same was done with three hundred gentlemen, after stakes were drove through their bodies." Pinto's facts are mostly right in a general way, notwithstanding the depreciation of Congreve and Macaulay, but his details are inflamed and exaggerated by memory. He wrote in his old age, after having lost all his notes and diaries.

The Ōnpawng chief was defeated north of Prome, and Buyin Naung hunted him all the way to Ava. His guns were not siege artillery, so the Peguans fell back on Pagān, and there, in the ancient capital, the Kings of Prome, Taung-ngu, and Martaban did homage to Tabin Shweti. The father of Buyin Naung was ruler of Taung-ngu, and a brother, or half-brother, was tributary King of Prome.

The King of Kings now proposed to punish Arakan for interfering in the Prome siege. He was helped by a disputed succession; and marched as far as Sandoway, and was moving on the capital, where there might have been another blockade if the king had not acknowledged his supremacy, and if there had not been trouble on the Siam side.

The Siamese and the Lao Shans were no doubt perturbed by the overthrow of Martaban, and had descended on Tavoy and Tenasserim, the possession of which was an open sore between the two countries for long years. A

great force was assembled at Maulmein and set off, through Myawadi, on the Thaungyin River, in 1548. With it went a force of about a hundred and eighty Portuguese, under James Sôarez de Nillo, who had been a pirate and now was a knight errant. His men were no doubt of much the same antecedents with less vamping up.

With these in the van, the army found nothing to stop it, and marched down the Mênam in three columns. There was a stiff fight outside Ayuthia, which is said to have had walls eight leagues round. Guns, exceptionally heavy for those days, are said to have been mounted on the walls, and there was also a body of fifty Portuguese under Iago Pereira. Neither the people, nor the commissariat arrangements, nor the climate, were suited for a prolonged siege, so, on the advice of Buyin Naung, a retreat was begun. This was no doubt also hastened by news of trouble in Pegu, and also by the drinking habits which Tabin Shweti had contracted. A royal order of King Mindôn's alludes to the danger of "familiar association with foreigners" and practically asserts that Tabin Shweti was taught to drink by a nephew of Iago Soarez. Very probably this young man was a boon companion, but there can be no comparison between the strength of foreign liquor and native spirits.

The Siamese hung on the retreating army, and there were heavy losses in skirmishes and from hunger and disease. In one of the rear-guard actions the son-in-law of the King of Siam was taken prisoner, and this led to negotiations and to the abandonment of the pursuit. The Talaings say Siam agreed to pay tribute, but it may be taken that this was ransom money for the captured prince.

The expedition had lasted five months and Pegu was found to be in a state of turmoil. Thamindaw, whom the Portuguese call Xemindoo, the reputed son of Pinya Ran, by a secondary wife, threw off the yellow robe and raised

trouble in the west. While Buyin Naung went against him, a Talaing grandee, Governor of Sittang, named Thaminsaw-tut, styled Ximi de Zatan by the Portuguese, was appointed guardian of the drunkard king and had him murdered in the jungle, where he had been persuaded to go after an imaginary white elephant.

Tabin Shweti was only a few years over thirty when he died. He planned the revival of the power of the Low Country and paved the way for a temporarily united Burma, and his name is greatly honoured by the Burmese ; but to the reader of the Chronicles it seems that his general was the greater man and certainly the greater soldier. Buyin Naung was in an unpleasant position when Tabin Shweti was murdered. Thaminsaw-tut established himself in Pegu and proclaimed himself king. Thamindaw marched on him from the west, and in three months' time defeated and took him prisoner and cut the head off Ximi de Zatan and then assumed the title of King Zaggali, according to the Talaing Chronicle, which laments him as the last of the native race.

Buyin Naung was not a favourite of the Talaings, and had to bide his time. Thihathu, a brother of his, had established himself as lord of Taung-ngu, but was soon overcome and pardoned, and then Buyin Naung went west to restore another of his numerous half-brothers, who had been deposed by a local rising. Here, no doubt, he raised a large Burmese following, and returned to Taung-ngu in order to attack Pegu by land, since he had no war boats. Thamindaw was rash enough to meet him in the open, was defeated, and fled to Martaban. Buyin Naung followed him up and he was captured and put to death. Pinto says he was mounted on an ass with a straw crown, trimmed with mussel shells and an iron collar set with onions. Sousa says he fled to the hills and married a farmer's daughter, and the farmer handed him over when a reward was offered for his head. The

native Chronicle more decorously says that he was be-headed for refusing to make obeisance to the victor.

Buyin Naung now was formally consecrated as King of Kings in 1551, and his eldest son was declared heir-apparent with the old Hindu and Buddhist title of *yuva raja*. He himself took the style of *Hanthawadi Sin-byu-shin* and he is the *Branginoco* of the Portuguese. They speak of him and his magnificence in terms of extravagant admiration, but though, like Napoleon, he created a great empire, like Napoleon, he exhausted the country. The *Mahā Yāzawin* is not by any means enthusiastic about him, and this is probably because no long pedigree was found or invented. Popular tradition, in fact, makes him out to be of quite humble birth, the son of a toddy palm climber of *Ngathayauk*, in the *Pagān* township. The marvellous comes in, of course. A python was found coiled round the infant while it lay in front of the hut, and a learned monk examined its horoscope and foretold a great future if the parents removed to a *patirupadesa*, an appropriate place of abode. So they went to *Taung-ngu*, and the mother was engaged as wet-nurse for the baby, *Tabin Shweti*. Young *Cha Tey*, the future conqueror (so called because a swarm of white ants flew round him while he was in the cradle), was brought up in the palace with *Tabin Shweti* and a sister. *Cha Tey* and the princess became so friendly that they had to be married, and he was put into a small post in the palace. The war with *Pegu* gave him his opportunity. He got the title of *Kyawdin Nawrat'ā*, to which the style, *Buyin Naung* (the king's elder brother), was popularly added. The rest is history.

Buyin Naung had already been under the walls of *Ava*. He determined to add *Burma* to *Pegu*. The *Shan* chiefs had put in *Hkun Mong-awn* as King of *Ava* when *Sao Han Hpa* was murdered, but another *Shan* princeling from *Mo-hnyin* established himself on the

other side of the river as King of Sagaing, and moved to Ava itself when Hkun Mōng-awn died three years later. The Avan king's son fled to Pegu. Buyin Naung had been making his preparations for some time. A scouting force had in fact reconnoitred beyond Pagān, which was part of the Peguan territory. There was therefore no suggestion that the fugitive was to be restored, but he was no doubt useful in giving information and as a pretext.

A large flotilla went up the Irrawaddy, and a land force accompanied it. Another army marched up the Sittang Valley, through Yamèthin and Kyauksè. Buyin Naung went with this last column as far as Yamèthin, and then crossed to the Irrawaddy, leaving his brother of Taung-ngu to continue on that side as far as Panya. The Shan chiefs raised a strong force to retain their hold on the Upper Burma country, but they did not combine well. Moreover, Buyin Naung had a body-guard of four hundred arquebus men, Portuguese, dressed in uniform, who were feared for their discipline in fight and their indiscipline afterwards. When, therefore, he attacked from the Sagaing side, and his brother Mēng Hkawng from Panya, the Shans were defeated in the open field and almost immediately afterwards Ava fell to a general assault. This was in 1555 and, after he had appointed yet another of his brothers tributary King of Ava with the title of Thado Mongsaw, and assured himself that the Shan chiefs were kept in their own hills by the rains, he returned to Pegu, which at that time was no doubt an infinitely finer city than Ava.

The Shan chiefs always were quarrelsome with one another and the death of the Ònpawng (Hsipaw) Sawbwa led to a disputed succession, in which Mōng Nai, the most powerful of the Southern chiefs, interfered. One of the claimants was ill-advised enough to appeal to Buyin Naung. He wanted nothing better than an opportunity

to put an end to Shan meddling in Burma affairs. We are not told how the settlement went in Ônpawng, but Buyin Naung's armies overran the whole of the north as far as the Patkoi Range, dividing Burma from Assam, and Mogaung, Mõhnyin, Mõng Mìt, and Ônpawng all swore fealty to him. He then marched south and subdued all the States now known as the Southern Shan States, and passed beyond to Chiengmai, where the chief had to swear allegiance and agree to the payment of an annual tribute, as well as to submit to the establishment of a garrison in his capital. This was very soon attacked by forces from Luang Prabang and Linzin (Lantsang or Wying Chan) on the Mèkhong. They were beaten off, but this prepared the way for the expedition against Siam, which was to wipe out the memory of the failure in Tabin Shweti's time.

For three years, however, the King of Kings devoted himself to home matters. He received the homage of all the tributary kings and the Shan Sawbwas, at the usual end of Lent festival. He also instituted a number of administrative reforms, and in particular forbade the sacrifices of animals, and especially of slaves, at the funerals of Shan chiefs. He also, in the usual fashion of those days, proposed to figure as an upholder of religion, began building a great pagoda in Pegu, and not only forbade the Moslems, of whom there were a great many in the country, to kill goats and fowls, but tried to convert them by force. Buddhism is the most tolerant of religions, and this is the one example recorded of anything like religious persecution. Possibly he was demoralized by tales of the doings of the Inquisition at Goa; no doubt the Moslems were not much better than the Christians, whether they were picaroons or keen traders. The Buddhist commandment says: "Take not any life at all," and perhaps his idea was that, since so many men were dying in the wars, it was imperative to economize life somewhere.

He has been denounced for it much more emphatically than Tabin Shweti was for tippling.

When he was consecrated king he took the title of Sinbyumya Shin, the Lord of Many White Elephants, but he had none and the white elephant is the index of the Sekya king. The King of Siam had four, and this was made the pretext for the war which had been pre-determined. Siam had girded at Buyin Naung's suzerainty over Chiangmai and had incited the Mèkhong principalities to attack his garrison there; Siam had hankered after the possession of Tenasserim and Tavoy, and had addressed proposals to the governor of the former place; Siam had baffled Tabin Shweti's attack on the capital, when Buyin Naung was commander-in-chief. There were, therefore, many grounds for a rupture besides the Siam king's ambiguous reply to the demand for a white elephant, but this was the ostensible reason for the invasion.

Four columns set out from Taung-ngu in 1563, instead of from Maulmein, as in 1548. The Siamese histories disagree with the Burmese both as to dates and details, but the main facts were undeniable. Buyin Naung's armies, made up of Burmese, Talaings, and Shans, swept down the Mènam Valley and Ayuthia fell, after three Portuguese ships, which were moored in the river and supported by batteries, had been taken. The Burmese say the king, his queens, and his younger son, were carried off captives, and the elder son, whom they call Bramahin, was installed as tributary king. The Siamese say that their sovereign entered a monastery and appointed the son, whom they call Mahā Indra Diracha, king in his place. The white elephants, at any rate, were carried off to Pegu, and the King of Siam did temporarily become a monk, but "entered the world" again when Buyin Naung had to hurry back to his capital to repress a rebellion there. The yuva raja, the heir-apparent,

remained in command of the armies and marched up the Mèkhong, where the "King" of Chiengmai, had taken refuge after a revolt. Wying Chan was taken, but the "king" escaped, and the yuva raja returned to Pegu, where his father had put down the rebellion, which seems to have been rather a peasant war than anything more serious. They had, however, burnt down a good many of the principal buildings, and these Buyin Naung rebuilt on a scale which excited the admiration of all foreign visitors. The King of Kings now claimed that his authority extended from the Patkoi Range to the Mèkhong River, and to the Gulf of Siam, but it was in the nature of an inundation; when the waters, or the armies, retired, the land or the "tributaries" rose up again. The King of Siam put off his yellow robe, but contented himself with inciting his son to assert himself and his kingdom. Buyin Naung therefore assembled a huge army again, and after a good deal of confused fighting against Pitsanulok, Linzin, and the Jack-in-the-box Chiéngmai, re-entered Ayuthia. But it was hardly a triumphant entry. A treacherous Siamese noble opened the gates. The old king had died and "Bramahin" was made prisoner, and was either put to death or committed suicide, and the pro-Burma Governor of Pitsanulok, whom the Burmese call Thaung-kyi and the Siamese Phra Dhammarach Diracha, was appointed tributary king. It was his son, known to the Burmese as Byanarit, and in Siamese history as Phra Naret, who restored the Siamese kingdom.

Buyin Naung stayed for a couple of months in Ayuthia, and then went campaigning himself along the Mèkhong. He found it easy enough to capture the towns and made use of Wying Chan, which the Burmese called Maingzan, as a depôt. The Lao Shans would not make any stand, and it was a perpetual chase after an elusive enemy, which thoroughly exhausted the army. Buyin Naung came home in 1570 ahead of his troops, but there were not many

of these that ever saw Pegu again. A great many Shans had been conscripted for service in these distant wars, and there was trouble in the north. Mohnyin and Mogaung, in particular, were in open revolt, and two expeditions against them were necessary, the second of which was led by the King of Kings himself. Mohnyin was killed in action and Mogaung was, after a time, surrendered by his own people and exhibited in Pegu in Roman triumph fashion, loaded with fetters of gold, and not a few of the more able-bodied prisoners were sold as slaves to foreign merchants. To us this seems harsh and even savage, but in those days it was considered the best way of securing future peace.

The old Chronicles take no account of anything but war or worship, and in the lull that now followed the king returned to pious foundations and the acquisition of relics. For some time he had been in negotiation with Ceylon for the purchase of a tooth of the Buddha, and on his return from the extreme north, this was received with the greatest honours and encased in a gold vessel studded with precious stones. Buyin Naung now posed as not only King of Kings, but as the greatest of Buddhist kings. As far as results are concerned, he was a much greater monarch than Tabin Shweti, but the Mahā Yāzawin always seems to have a hidden conviction that he was an upstart. In this instance other annalists are even more chilly. There were four kings in Ceylon at this time, and Dharmapala, who is supposed to be the vendor of the tooth, is declared to have held nothing more extensive than Colombo, to have professed Christianity, and to have been baptized as Don Juan. Two years before the tooth, a Cinghalese princess had been sent, after the mere man fashion of those days. The Portuguese historian ungallantly asserts that she was "only" the daughter of a chamberlain. He also maintains that there had been indeed a real tooth, but it was

taken at Jaffna by the Viceroy, Don Constantine, in 1560, and destroyed, though Buyin Naung had offered over forty lakhs for it. Buyin Naung was, therefore, implicitly aware that this Colombo tooth was a false tooth, in fact Faria y Sousa asserts that the King of Kandy, eager to get some of the Peguan wealth, offered to dispose of what he called the real tooth and of what he guaranteed to be a real king's daughter. Buyin Naung, therefore, should have had doubts about the genuineness of the tooth, but the insinuation about the lady was distinctly ungentlemanly. The main point, however, was that the people of Burma fully believed in the tooth and in the unquestioned sublimity of the King of Kings. The Portuguese did not like Branginoco. They were very conscious that he found them useful and made use of them, but that he regarded and treated them as the hirelings they were.

Buyin Naung had extended his authority, or at any rate shown his power, everywhere to the east. He determined that Arakan should be added to his tributaries, and a huge fleet sailed in 1580. Off Cape Negrais it fell in with a Portuguese squadron which attacked it, on the ground that Pegu had sent a small force to help Ceylon against them. Naturally their galleons took some of the Burma war boats, but the fleet was too numerous for them, and they sheered off and went back to Masulipatam. The Peguan army was then landed and went into quarters at Sandoway. There it remained inactive for a twelve-month, apparently because Buyin Naung wanted to go in command himself, but was not able to do so, because of his health. It is not stated what his illness was, but he is said to have died suddenly. He was sixty-six years of age and had reigned thirty years. This was in 1581, five years after Bengal had been conquered by the generals of Akbar, in 1576, and the statement of the Burmese historian that Buyin Naung had sent letters to that

emperor may account for the suspension of the operations. Buyin Naung possibly wished to learn whether the occupation of Arakan would be viewed as a hostile act by the Great Mogul, so implicitly was it admitted that Arakan inclined more to India than to Burma.

Tabin Shweti, no doubt, gave Buyin Naung his opportunity and planned out what was to be done, but Buyin Naung was the greater figure, and his exploits surpassed those of Anawrat'ā and even of Alaungpayā. He began from an insignificant statelet, and not only united Burma and Pegu, but extended the Burman power to the farthest limit it ever had, and even extorted the admiration of the haughty Portuguese.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

THE Chronicles of Burma tell us nothing about the people, their ways, or their towns and villages, and they ignore, and know nothing about any other country but Burma. To get any idea of these we have to turn to the early European adventurers. The Portuguese were the earliest established and the longest resident, till we dislodged them, but it is not from them that we get the most information. The most useful are the predecessors of the round-the-world tourists of later days. Everything was new to them, and they put it all down without assuming the knowledge, which the twenty-years-in-the-country, know-the-language man assumes to be common property. A Cook's tourist from St. Kilda would probably give a much more comprehensible account of a cricket match to a Martinique girls' school than a Lord's groundman.

The best condensed account of Burma, over three hundred years ago, is given by Patavino in his *Geography*, published in 1597, when Pegu was at its highest point of prosperity. The Latin is so simple that any Middle Fifth girl can translate it to her parents. It is a summary of the observations of Cæsar Fredericke, Fitch, Varthema, and others :—

“ Pegu regnum occupat littoris spatium 300 milliarium iuxta Occidentalem oram sinus Bengalici, ab urbe scilicet. Tauay ad caput usque Nigraes ; in Mediterraneis vero valde extenditur. Optimos habet portus, ex quibus prae-cipuus est Martabane, in quo onerantur circiter 40 naues



KATHI TROOPERS AND FOG SOLDIERS

ex oryza, quae in insulam Sumatram comportantur. Ager huius regni pinguis ac fertilissimus est, et rei frumentariae ut plurimum admodum accomodus; animalia innumera nutrit, inter quae sunt equi pusilli, ad ferendum tamen idonei, quorum ingens est numerus, sicut etiam eliphantorum, qui in altissimis quibusdam montibus capiuntur, ac ad belli usum adservantur. Psittaci etiam vocaliores quam usquam alibi, et pulchriores reperiuntur, atque etiam feles, qui zibettum gignunt: arundives hic excrescunt ad crassitiem unius dolij: nascuntur quoque hic rubini. Unde regnum ipsum opulentissimum est et mercatoribus frequentissimum, qui commercijs plurimum operam nauant, et in ipsis portubus plures sunt mercatores Mauri ac gentiles. Deferunt autem ex hoc Regno ad Malacam oryzam, laccam, benzuinum, muscum, lapillos preciosos, argentum, batyrum, oleum, sal, cepas, et alia huius generis comestibilia: contra vero ex Malaca istuc ferunt porcellanas, colores, argentum vivum, aes, cinabarian, Damascum floribus contextum, stannum et alia. Ciuitas Regia est Pegu, clarissima totius Indiae, mœnibus munita, et aedibus elegantissimis ornata, quae a mari ciciter 25 miliaribus abest, quam flunius eiusdem nominis maximus abluit, quae etiam per totum regnum percurrrens intumescit interdum adeo, ut magnum terrae tradum inundet; unde ab hoc incolae oryzam copiosissimae colligunt. Praeter hanc sunt insignes Tauay, Martabane, et Losmin (sic = Cosmin) emporium celebre. Sunt autem Peguini mediocris staturae, magis at crassitiem accidentes, agiles, et viribus praediti, ad bellum tamen inepti: nudi incedunt praeter pudenda, capita tegunt albicantis pannis ad instar mitrae: luxuria praeterea valde dediti sunt, qui in mulierum gratiam ad virile membrum tintinnabula aurea vel argentea appensa gestant ut sonum reddant dum per civitatem deambulant. Sunt vero super omnes mortales superstitiosissimi, et vanissimas habent circa religionem opiniones, ac ab onni veritate alienas. Rex

Pegu multa bodie possidit regua, nempe Tangu, Prom, Melintay (Myedè), Calam (Kyatpyin), Bacam, Mirandu, Aua, Brema, ad Septemtrionem exposita ; deinde regnum Siam, et portus Martabane ac Tennasseri, et Aracam, ac Macin (Maha-chin = China) regna ; et appellari quoque consuevit a scriptoribus nonnullis Rex Bremæ, seu Barmæ."

James Lancaster, who sailed from Plymouth in the *Edward Bonaventure* in 1591, with two other tall ships—the *Penelope*, under Captain Raymond, and the *Merchant Royal*, Captain Kendall—usually gets the credit of being the first to start our trade with the East Indies. The first formal voyage may be granted to him, but he profited greatly by the commercial information brought home by Ralph Fitch, who left the Thames in 1583 on board the *Tyger* and returned in the same year that Lancaster sailed. He was the first Englishman to visit Burma, and his narrative interested many others besides merchants. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is pointed out that Shakespeare must have read Hakluyt's Voyages, for in *Macbeth*, published in 1606 there is the line : " Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the *Tiger* " (Act I, Scene 3).

There are not many Europeans' notices of Burma before Ralph Fitch. The chief are the two Venetians, Cæsar Fredericke and Gasparo Balbi, the jeweller, whose description of Pegu in the last years of its prosperity under Branginoco before it was destroyed by Alaungpayā are particularly interesting, and are contrasted with Nicolas Pimenta, the Portuguese priest's tale of the ruin of the country, which came so soon after Fitch's visit. Ser Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller, at the end of the thirteenth century, refers to Burma, but does not seem to have been there. The party that set out from England in the *Tyger* was led by John Newbery, an experienced traveller and merchant, who had been at

Ormuz before, and besides Fitch, there were William Leedes, jeweller, and James Story, painter. The expedition was organized by the newly formed Levant Company, later known as the Turkey Company, and made for "Tripolis in Syria" and from there by caravan to Aleppo and to Bir, or Birejik, the head of the navigation on the Euphrates. They went down that river to Basra and from there to Ormuz. There "the Portugales" were in possession, and "very shortly after our arrivall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Capitaine of the Castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleventh of October, he shipped vs and sent vs for Goa vnto the Viceroy, which at the time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas."

At Goa they were put in prison and remained there till the 22nd of December, when they were set at liberty, "putting in sureties for two thousand dukats not to depart the towne; which sureties Father Steuens an English Jesuite which we found there & another religious mā a friend of his, procured for vs." Stevens, so far as the records go, was the first Englishman to come to Goa, which he reached in 1579, by a different route. He was a graduate of Oxford. The surety's name was Andreas Taborer "to whom we paid 2150 duckats and still he demanded more: where vpon we made sute to the Viceroy and Justice to haue our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere fīue moneths and could prooue nothing against vs. The Viceroy made vs a very sharpe answere, and sayde wee should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against vs."

Some disagreeable, or perhaps merely waggish, people told them they "should have y^e strapado." It seemed worth while forfeiting the sureties to escape this, so "presently, the fift day of April, 1585, in the morning we ranne from thence, and being sette ouer the riuer, we went two

days on foote not without feare, not knowing the way not hauing any guide, for we durst trust none."

Huyghen van Linschoten, a young Dutchman who was in the train of the Archbishop of Goa, tells us more about the arrest and imprisonment than Fitch does. According to him the party came to Ormuz to see if they could establish a factory "and so trafficke in that place, like as also the Italians doe, that is to say, the Venetians, which in Ormuz, Goa, and Malacca have their Factors, and trafficke there." They accordingly hired a shop and began to sell their wares: "great store of merchandises, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of glasses, knives, and such like stuffe, to conclude, all kinde of small wares that may be devised."

The Venetians were irritated at the competition and afraid more Englishmen would come, so they went to the "Captaine of Ormuz, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses" and denounced the new arrivals as spies, "and said further that they were Heretickes." Don Gonsalo had had "certaine presents," so he shifted responsibility by "putting them with all their wares in a Shippe that was to sayle for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trye them as he thought good."

In Goa they were promptly sent to prison; and "because they coud speake but bad Portugale, only two of them spake good Dutche, as having bene certaine yeares in the Lowe Countries and there traffiqued, there was a Dutch Jesuite [Padre Marco] borne in the towne of Briggas [Bruges] in Flaunders that had bin resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yeares, sent unto them, to examine them; wherein they had behaved themselves so wel, that they were holden for good and Catholick Romish Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, specially Englishmen."

The Padre Marco "had secretlie bene advertised of great summes of money which they had about them" and tried to get them to join the Order, but succeeded with

none except Story, the painter, "that came with the other three for company to see the countries and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thether by the English merchants. He, partly for feare and partlie for want of meanes, promised them to become a Jesuite." They wanted him "to paint their church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugal." "But the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they understood no man that came to them, nor anie man almost knew what they said."

Eventually they heard of the Dutchmen in the Archbishop's house and sent to them: Linschoten himself and Burcherts, who, by the intervention of the Archbishop, procured their release on surety from a "Citizen of the towne yt was their suretie for 2000 Pardawes, where they paid him in hand 1300 Pardawes, and because they had no more ready monie, he gave them credite, seeing what store of marchandise they had. . . . By that meanes they were delivered out of prison, and hyred a house and beganne to set open shoppe; so that they uttered much ware and were presently well knowne. . . . likewise they behaved themselves verie Catholically and devoute, everie day hearing masse with Beades in their hands." Pardao was by some identified with the "pagoda" and by some with the *hīn* or half pagoda, and varied in value, at different times as much as the modern rupee, from 1s. 6½d. to 2s. 6d. The bail bond was therefore, to our ideas, not very extortionate. Though they were free of the prison they were not free of the Jesuits, who pestered them so much that they made up their minds to depart, so "on a Whit-Sunday they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the ryver in a countrie called Bardes, having with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shop, with some wares therein unsolde, in custodie of a Dutch Boy, by us provided for them,

that looked unto it. . . . Betweene Bardes and the Firm land there is but a little ryver, halfe drie, they passed over it on foote, and so travelled by land, being never heard of againe."

Linschoten says that the surety told him that "hee once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was fortie thousand Veneseanders [each Veneseander being two Pardawes] which was when they were in prison." No doubt the party took this with them, otherwise it is difficult to see how they paid their way. "Veneseanders" were ducats of Venice, zecchins. Apparently, therefore, the Newbery party had cash equivalent in those days to more than £13,000, which in our times would represent £78,000. John Eldred, one of the original founders of the East India Company, who went out with Newbery and Fitch in the *Tyger*, but did not go beyond Aleppo, says Newbery's capital was £400 (£2,400 present value), which is more likely to be correct. Possibly Fitch had the same amount. At any rate, though they abandoned their goods, they were not without funds. Story, the painter, when he heard his companions were gone, announced that he had "no desire so stay within the Cloyster, and although they [the Jesuits] used all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet hee would not stay, but hyred a house without the Cloyster, and opened shop, where he had good store of worke, and in the end married a Mestiços daughter of the towne, so that he made his account, to stay there while he lived."

The route followed by Newbery and Fitch is not quite clear, but the place they made for was the Court of Akbar, at Agra, or Fatehpur Sikri. They were the bearers of a letter from the Queen to the Great Mogul, which commenced as follows: "Elizabeth by the grace of God, etc., To the most inuincible and most mightie prince lord Zelabdin Echebar, King of Cambaya, Inuincible Emperor, etc.," asking him to grant them "such privileges as to

you shall seem good: which curtesie of your Imperiall maiestie shal to our subjects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompense the same with as many deserts as we can."

Unfortunately there is no account of their reception by the emperor. All Fitch tells us is that "the king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured sometimes with red or yealow," but he says that "Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous."

They stayed in Fatehpur till the 28th September, 1585, "and there Master Iohn Newberie tooke his journey toward the citie of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage vnto, and directed me to go for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeares with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the ieweller in service with the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well and gave him an house and fiue slaves, an horse and every day six S.S. in money."

Neither of these two were ever heard of again. Fitch went down the Jumna and Ganges with a convoy of a hundred and eighty boats, and he "was fiue moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time."

After various excursions in Bengal, Fitch made for Pegu, whose glories in those days rivalled those of Golden Goa. The Portuguese had not then established any important settlements anywhere except at Malacca, but they had made descents at Chittagong and Martaban, especially at Martaban, which then was a great port.

Chittagong at that time was subject to Arakan, and the reputation of the Portuguese was not high there.

About sixty years before Fitch's visit, John de Silveira had put in with four ships and was denounced by one of his own crew, a young man, seemingly from Eastern Bengal, as a pirate pure and simple. The people of the country would have no dealings with him, though he passed the winter there and was hard put to it for supplies. As Silveira was preparing to leave, the King of Arakan sent him a present and invited him ashore, but the Portuguese captain thought it safer not to leave his ship.

There is a hint of what happened later. The Sunderbunds became a regular nest of pirates and the comments of Faria y Sousa, the poet and historian (1590-1649), on Lopo Soares de Albigaria, the Governor of Goa, who succeeded Albuquerque are significant: "Till this time the Gentlemen had followed the Dictates of true Honor, esteeming their Arms the greatest Riches; from this time forwards they so wholly gave themselves up to trading that those who had been Captains became Merchants, so that what had been Command became a Shame, Honor was a Scandal, and Reputation a Reproach."

At Martaban they had been more successful than in Chittagong. Martaban nowadays is the terminus of the railway eastward from Rangoon, which has rescued it from the state of a squalid fishing village opposite Maulmein into which it had fallen. At that time, as a result of the opening of the Cape trade, it was quite a populous place, governed by a "viceroy." With him, Sao Pinya, Andrea Correa concluded a treaty, of which Sousa gives an account characteristic both of Talaing pomposity and Portuguese supple craft.

"At the swearing of the Peace assisted with the King's Ministers, the Priests of both Nations, Catholick and Gentiles. The Heathen was called the Great Raulim [probably Yahan] who after the Capitulations made in the Golden Mine, as is the Custom of these People, were publickly read, began to read in a Book, and then taking



A TĒGIZ AND HIS WIFE IN COURT DRESS

some yellow Paper [a colour dedicated to their holy uses] with some sweet Leaves of Trees [the Eugenia], whereon were certain characters, set Fire to it all, and then taking the Hands of the King's Minister and holding them over the ashes, said some words, which rendered the Oath inviolable. Anthony [sic] Correa, to answer this Solemnity, ordered his Priest to put on a Surplice and bring his Breviary, which was so tattered and torn, that it was scandalous those Heathens should see how little respect was paid to our sacred Books. Correa observing this, ordered to be brought instead of it a Book of Church Musick, which was more creditable, being bigger and better bound, and opening it the first Verse he met was *Vanity of Vanities*. This passed among those People as well as if it had been the Gospel."

It might have been considered a portent, for a quarter of a century later Tabin Shweti fell upon Martaban (the Burmese Môttama), sacked it and burnt it to the ground, and the unfortunate Sao Pinya, with his Ministers, was thrown into the sea, with stones tied to the neck, after his chief wife and children, with a hundred and forty ladies of the Court, had been crucified upside down, according to Mendez Pinto.

In the meantime, however, the Portuguese, as the result of their treaty, built a fort at Martaban, and it was their chief trading port until its destruction. It may be taken to have been no less prosperous than Pegu.

Pegu was at the height of its glory when Fitch visited it, for, though the great Buyin Naung had died on his Arakan expedition five years before, and he, the Branginoco of the foreigners of those days, was succeeded by his luckless son, Nanda Buyin, it was fifteen years before the end came.

Fitch sailed from the Sunderbunds on the 28th November, 1586, "in a small ship or foist of one Albert Carauillos," and "entered the barre of Négrais, which is a braue barre

& hath 4 fadomes of water where it hath least." Three days later he came to "Cosmin," which is the present day Bassein and the ancient Kusimanagara. "The land is very high that we fall with all, but after we be entred the barre it is very lowe and full of riuers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call Paroes, and keepe their houses with wife & children in them." Cosmin he calls a "very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things," but it was more like the ordinary village than the modern port of Bassein: "The houses are high built, set vpon great high postes, & they goe vp to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many."

From Negrais to Pegu was ten days' journey, through the delta network of creeks and the Pegu River. "Wee went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes, or boates, and passing up the riuers wee came to Medon, which is a pretie towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keep their houses and their markets in them all upon the water. They rowe too and fro and have all their marchandizes in their boates with a great sombrero, or shadow over their heads to keep the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele, made of the leaues of the coco trees and fig trees, and is very light." Both Dela (Dalla, opposite Rangoon) and Cirion (Syriam a few miles lower down) they found to be "faire portes, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, Sumatra, and diuers other places," but there is no mention of Rangoon, which for long after was a mere fishing village. The Shwé Dagôn, however, is mentioned incidentally.

"About two days' journey from Pegu, there is a Varelle or Pagoda, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foote to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies, which are their Priests,

doe preach. This house is fīue and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks ; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded : it is gilded with golde within and and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to live in : and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images, both of men and women, which are all gilded ouer with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world : it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade aboue two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people : for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast."

Fitch left his boats in the Pegu River at a place he calls Macao, which may be Mèké, but was probably destroyed when the Peguans were overthrown, and there "in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords and cloth quilted and carried vpon a stang [pole] betweene 3 or 4 men : we came to Pegu the same day. .

" Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the old towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne, which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos' and bee couered with strawe. In your house you have a Warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or fīue hundred houses : so that if the Godon were not,

you should bee in danger to haue all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the newe towne is the King, and all his Nobilitie and Gentry. It is a citie very great and populous and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates and they bee made of stone, for every square fve gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelue men may ride a front thorow them. On both sides of them at every man's doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood and couered with tiles. The Kings house is in the middle of the city and is walled and ditched round about; and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded and great workmanship is vpon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagoda or idole standeth, is couered with tiles of siluer, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the Kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the Kings elephants, which be maruelous great and faire, and are brought up to warres and in seruice of the King. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other King which hath them but he: if any other King hath one, hee will send vnto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought vnto the King all the marchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of halfe a ducat [3s. 4d.] which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many marchants in the city. After that you haue giuen your present you may come and see them at your pleasure,

although they stand in the Kings house. This King in his title is called the King of the White Elephants. If any other King haue one and will not send it to him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome then not to conquere him. They do very great service vnto these white elephants; euery one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they do feede in vessels of siluer and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the riuier to be washed, as euery day they do, goeth vnder a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried over him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and commeth out of the riuier, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a siluer basin: which is his office giuen him by the King. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, be he neuer so great. And surely these be woonderfull faire and great and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the King hath aboue fīue thousand elephants of warre, besides many others which be not taught to fight."

There is then a detailed account of a keddah, about a mile from Pegu, for the capture of wild elephants. Fitch also mentions that at Dalla there were "18 or 20 very great and long houses where they tame and keep many elephants of the Kings: for there about in the wilderness they catch the wild elephants." It is all under rice now.

"The chiefe force of the King," he says, "is in these elephants. And when they goe into the warres they set a frame of wood vpon their backs, bound with great cordes, within sit foure or six men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons;" and he adds: "Their weapons be very badde. They have gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points."

He then goes on: "The King keepeth a very great

state: when he sitteth abroad, as he doth euery day twise, all his noble men which they call Shemines, sit on ech side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the King, he is to kneele downe to heaue vp his hands to his head and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the King: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the King: if the King like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he think not well of him, he sitteth farther off. When he goeth to warre he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Odia [Ayuthia] in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men and fiue thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard."

This is an unfortunate statement. It was Buyin Naung who attacked Siam, and he died four years earlier, and Nanda Buyin was king in Fitch's time. Cæsar Fredericke, who was in Pegu sixteen years before Fitch, is responsible for the facts and the figures, and it is very clear that the Englishman had read the Venetian's book, and either had a very tenacious memory or made very copious notes and mixed them up with his own recollections. The very scrupulous might say more, for the similarities extend to coincidences and go beyond phrases and sentences to whole paragraphs. But palace patterns and palace ways did not vary through the centuries, so that it is no great matter.

Captain Michael Symes in his *Embassy to Ava* says that in 1795 the extent of ancient Pegu could be determined by the ruins of the moat and walls: "From these it appears to have been a quadrangle, each side measuring nearly a mile and a half." He estimated the width of the moat at sixty yards and the depth at ten or twelve feet, and guessed that the height of the wall was thirty feet at least, and the breadth of the base not less than forty

feet. It was built of brick, with bastions about three hundred yards apart, and a parapet of masonry.

Ancient patterns were carefully followed, and to judge from the present walled city of Mandalay, which is a mile square, these figures are correct.

Fitch goes on to say that the king, when he goes abroad "rideth with a great guard and many noblemen, oftentimes vpon an elephant with a fine castle vpon him very fairly gilded with gold; and sometimes vpon a great frame like a horsliter, which hath a little house vpon it couered ouer head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, and set with many rubies and sapphires, whereof he hath an infinite store in his country, and is caried vpon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. [Probably Htan-sin. The later name was Waw.] This King hath little force by Sea, because hee hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and siluer, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and sapphires, and spinelles." These, he says, are at Caplan, which may be taken to be Kyatpyin near Mogôk. "It standeth six dayes iourney from Aua in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they dig them. None may go to the pits but only those which digge them."

Fitch was the first Englishman to give an account of Burma, but there were several Europeans before him. The earliest of these is Nicolo de' Conti, or, as he was names in Latin, De Comitibus. He was a Venetian of noble family, and in his youth lived as a merchant in Damascus. It is not clear when he went to the East, but he returned to Venice in 1444, after twenty-five years' absence, and therefore preceeded Fitch by about a hundred and fifty years. He had been compelled to apostatize in Egypt in order to save his life, and received absolution from Pope Eugene IV, on condition that he related his

adventures to Poggio Bracciolini, the Pope's Secretary, who wrote them down in Latin.

After various travels in India he went to Taprobana, whose native name, he says, was Sciamuthera (Sumatra), and sailed from there for Burma, passing the Andamans, the inhabitants of which he asserted to be cannibals, but he probably confused them with the Battaks of Sumatra. From Andamania, after a stormy passage of sixteen days, he arrived at the city of Ternassari. Tenasserim was then Siamese territory, but we get no information about it, except that it "abounded in elephants and a species of thrush," and from it he went back to India and up the Ganges and then back, this time to Arakan, which he calls Racha. Fitch, who visited Chittagong, then held by Arakan, gives it the same name, and the territory here is probably the Ramu, or Rumi, of the Arabian voyagers of the ninth and tenth centuries. Nicolo de' Conti went up the river and "in the space of six days came to a very large city called by the same name as the river."

He then crossed over to Burma Proper, probably by the An Pass, "through mountains void of all habitations" for the space of seventeen days and then through open plains for fifteen days more, at the end of which time he arrived at "a river larger than the Ganges, which is called by the inhabitants Dava [the Irrawaddy]." Having sailed up this river for the space of a month he arrived at a city, "more noble than all the others, called Ava, and the circumference of which is fifteen miles."

He was either very leisurely or his memory was bad, or the Pope's Secretary was at fault. Certainly the journey should not have taken so long. Unfortunately he gives no account of the town and confines himself to a description of the capturing and taming of elephants. "The King of this province rides on a white elephant, round the neck of which is fastened a chain of gold ornamented with precious

stones, which reaches to his feet." He also says: "The inhabitants, as well men as women, puncture their flesh with pins of iron and rub into these punctures pigments which cannot be obliterated, and so they remain painted for ever." As far as the women are concerned, he no doubt refers to the tattooed faces of the Chinbôk women, and as to the men, the Secretary repeats (in discreet Latin) the vulgar explanation of the origin of the tattooing of their loins. He also tells of "frightful serpents," and says the people greatly esteem these pythons as food, as well as "a kind of red ant, of the size of a small crab." The rhinoceros also greatly impressed him.

From Ava he went down the river, and in seventeen days arrived at a "port called Xeythona" (which seems likely to be Syriam) and up to "Pauconia, a very populous city, the circumference of which is twelve miles." This was no doubt Pegu, and he stayed there four months, but has nothing to say about it except that there were vines, which he found nowhere else in India, but they did not make wine from their grapes.

Altogether Nicolo is rather disappointing, or perhaps it was the Papal Secretary who was eager for marvels. He does not, indeed, like Herodotus, tell us of one-eyed Arimaspians pursued by griffons, or Ethiopians with four eyes, or Monopoli who have no head, but carry their faces in their breasts and their eyes in their shoulders, but he has a good deal to say about serpents, winged like bats, that have seven heads arranged along the body, very rapid in their flight and destroying men by their breath alone: river monsters that are shaped like human beings, procure fire by striking one stone against another, which attracts fish and these they gulp down; and "a tree about three cubits in height, which bears no fruit, and which is called by a name signifying modesty; if a man approaches, it contracts and draws up all its branches, and expands again when he departs." The present-day

sensitive plant does not grow into a tree, and recognizes no difference between men and women. He makes one interesting statement : " The inhabitants of Cambay alone use paper ; all other Indians write on the leaves of trees, of which they make very beautiful books."

Nicolo de' Conti is disappointing, but he has far more to tell us than Athanasius Nikitin of Twer. His " sinful wandering beyond the three seas"—he started from the church of our holy Saviour of Zlatoverkh—are pious, but distinctly jerky and full of the marvels of the days when there were not many travellers. Athanasius had got no farther than the mouth of the Volga when he was attacked by " godless Tartars," who took the boats of the party, dismissed them " bare and naked, beyond the sea, and forbidding us to return home, because of the news."

Nevertheless he went on through Baku, " where the fire burns unextinguished," to the land of India where he bought a stallion, " but it cost me a hundred roubles." It is a mystery how these early travellers found the means to pay their way. Fitch lost all his merchandise in Goa, but he went on travelling for several years afterwards. Perhaps he had jewels, but Athanasius had nothing of the kind. " Living in India," he says, " is very expensive. I have spent the whole of my money, and being alone I spend daily for my food one-sixth of an *altyn* [about two-thirds of a farthing] nor do I drink wine or *synda*." There is, indeed, a hint at Jooneer where the Khan took his horse and told him he would give it back and a thousand pieces of gold if he would become a Musulman, but a man from Khorassan interceded for him successfully.

All Athanasius has to tell us is that " Pegu is no considerable port, principally inhabited by Indian dervishes. The products derived from thence are *manik*, *akhut*, *kyrpuk*, which are sold by the dervishes." On the other hand he finds plenty of marvels. " There is a bird, *Gookook*, that flies at night and cries 'Gookook,' and

any roof it lights upon, there the man will die ; and whoever attempts to kill it, will see fire flashing from its beak." Also there are monkeys that have their monkey prince (*Kniaz*) " who is attended by a host of armed followers," who attack offending towns and beat the people. Nevertheless, " they are often caught by the Hindoos, who teach them every sort of handicraft, or sell them at night, that they may not find their way home, or teach them dancing." Of the Perwuttam five-day fair, the Budhkhana, he says there are " gatherings of twenty millions of people, but sometimes a hundred millions." He spent from 1468 to 1474 in India and then paid two pieces of gold for his passage from Dabul near Surat to Ormuz, and on landing in Ethiopia distributed among the natives " a quantity of brynetz, pepper, and bread, in order that they might not plunder our ship." Athanasius insists on his piety, but he is not very informing, and sometimes writes passages in Turkish which it is not thought desirable to render into English.

Twenty-two years after him, in 1496, came Hieronimo Di Santo Stefano, a Genoese, whose experiences are related in a letter to Messer Mainier. He sailed from Coromandel, " where the red sandal-wood tree grows in such abundance that they build houses of it," and after twenty days reached " a great city called Pegu. This part is called Lower India. Here is a great lord, who possesses more than ten thousand elephants, and every year he breeds five hundred of them. This country is distant fifteen days' journey by land from another, called Ava, in which grow rubies and many other precious stones. Our wish was to go to this place, but at that time the two princes were at war, so that no one was allowed to go from the one place to the other. Thus we were compelled to sell the merchandise which we had in the said city of Pegu, which were of such a sort that only the Lord of the city could purchase them. He is an idolater, like

the before-mentioned. To him, therefore, we sold them. The price amounted to two thousand ducats, and as we wished to be paid, we were compelled, by reason of the troubles and intrigues occasioned by the aforesaid war, to remain there a year and a half, all which time we had daily to solicit at the house of the said lord."

Here his friend and companion, Hieronimo Adorno, died, and it was only with great trouble that he recovered the money due to them jointly. "His body was buried in a certain ruined church, frequented by none," and Santo Stefano set *s. il* for Malacca, but got to Sumatra instead, where the chief, "who is a Moor, but speaking a different language," seized all his property. However, he got most of it back, through the assistance of "a *cadi* who had some knowledge of the Italian language," all except his rubies and other articles of ornament which he possessed. He sold what remained, bought "silk and benzoin," and sailed for Cambay.

Hieronimo's reference to the "ruined church" has a certain significance in the record of Lewes Vertomannus (Varthema), who speaks of Armenians and Nestorians as being in Pegu in 1503-4

This somewhat elusive Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian gentleman, who may have been of Rome, or of Bologna, and whose account of his travels was printed in 1510, though there is nothing to show when he got back to Italy, or whether he did so at all, gives an account of an audience he had with the King of Pegu, who, he says, "is so humane and domestic that an infant might speak to him, and he wears more rubies on him'than the value of a very large city, and he wears them on all his toes. And on his legs he wears certain great rings of gold, all full of the most beautiful rubies; also his arms and his fingers all full. His ears hang down half a palm, through the great weight of the many jewels he wears there, so that, seeing the person of the king by a light at night, he

shines so much that he appears to be a sun." Some "Christians," whom he had picked up in Bengal, introduced Ludovico to his Majesty, who said he was to come back "the day after the next, because on the next day he had to sacrifice to the devil for the victory he had gained."

They came accordingly, and Varthema produced "some corals . . . two branches, the like of which had never before entered India." When the king asked if they were for sale, the traveller, with a lengthy experience of Oriental bargaining, said they were at his Highness's service. The king candidly said that he had been at war with the King of Ava, and on that account had no money, "but that if we were willing to barter for so many rubies, he would amply satisfy us." Ludovico, in strictly correct fashion, said all he wanted was the king's friendship; he might take the corals and do what he pleased. Di Varthema and his fellow-traveller had been masquerading as Persians, and the king remarked that "he knew Persians were liberal, but had never met one so liberal as this one, and he swore by God and by the devil that he would see which would be the more liberal, he or a Persian. And then he desired one of his confidential servants to bring him a certain little box, which was two palms in length, worked all round in gold, and was full of rubies within and without. And when he had opened it, there were six separate divisions, all full of different rubies; and he placed it before us, telling us we should take what we wished." Vertomannus's companion said that he made a present of the corals, and that the two of them did not travel about the world to collect property, but to see different peoples and customs. The king answered: "I cannot conquer you in liberality, but take this which I give you," and so he "took a good handful of rubies from each of the divisions of the casket, and gave them to him. These rubies might be about

two hundred." They were estimated at about a hundred thousand ducats, and the two "Christians" did not come off badly, for they got two rubies each, estimated at a thousand ducats. Audiences of the king, were not the humiliations they were three centuries later.

Cæsar Fredericke, the Venetian, started in 1563, and spent eighteen years in the East. He went by the usual route through Aleppo and Ormuz and, after visiting Ceylon, went, in 1566, from Goa to Malacca, and on to Burma through "as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wild people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people Savage or wilde, because they eate one another." Two of their "barkes" came alongside to sell fruit—"Monces which we call Adam's Apples, with fresh nuts, and with a fruit called Inani, which fruit is like to our Turneps, but is very sweet and good to eate." They would not take money for their pine-apples, but would "trucke for olde Shirts, or pieces of old Linnen breeches. . . . It was told me that at'sometimes a man shall have for an old shirt a good piece of Amber."

He was misled by his "Pilot and two Portugals" and put off in a boat for the "Citie called Tanasary, which is situate on a great River's side, which commeth out of the Kingdom of Sion: and where this River runneth into the Sea there is a village called Mirgim (Mergui), in whose harbour every yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Benjamin." At that time Tenasserim was in the hands of the Peguans; Buyin Naung was, in fact, just entering Ayuthia, the then capital of Siam, after a siege of twenty-one months. Mergui, though still only a village of pearl-fishers and a port of call for coasting steamers, is now much larger than Tenasserim.

The "evil counsell of the two Portugals" led Cæsar Fredericke astray, and with twenty-eight men in his boat, they overshot the harbour and lost the ship, and were



[Sumer]

A WARBOAT, 1795.

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in great straits till they met some fishing-boats who directed them to Tavoy, of which he has little to say, except that they found great store of victuals and made from there to Martaban.

They found Martaban in a state of commotion. "Certaine vagabonds of the Portugals" had killed five "falchines of the King of Pegu, which chanced about a moneth after the King of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men [Cæsar Fredericke is fond of big numbers] to conquere the Kingdome of Sion." These falchines were part of a convoy carrying food supplies: "delicates of refreshings and with cleane clothes." The "Rector or Governour of the Citie" referred to the King for orders, but the Captaine of the Portugals was defiant and "went every day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and Ensigns displayed." The Venetian very properly remarks that it was "a strange thing to see the Portugals use such insolencie in another man's citie." The Burmese had some right to say that the White *Kalās* might be useful, but they were certainly boorish.

From Martaban he went to Pegu by sea, because it was cheaper, and so experienced the bore in the Sittang River, the "Macareo, which is one of the most marvellous things in the world that Nature hath wrought, and I never saw anything so hard to bee beleaved as this, to wit, the great encreasing and diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible Earth-quake and great noise that the Macareo maketh when it commeth." It drowned most of a company of Madras Infantry during our Burmese Wars. Cæsar Fredericke was much longer in Pegu than Fitch, and he made such diligent use of his time that the Englishman does not scruple to make use of his observations.

"There is not a King on the Earth that hath more power or strength then this King of Pegu, because he

hath twenty and six crowned kings at his command." Cæsar Fredericke does not say who these kings were. Probably the bulk were Shan Sawbwaw, or chiefs. Nicolas Pimenta, the Jesuit visitor, gives twelve of them: "The Kingdome of Cavelan, whence come the best Saphires and Rubies. Ava, in which are Mines of Ciprian Brasse, Lead and Silver; Bacan, in which are many Gold Mines; Tangram, which abounds with Lead and Lac; Prom, which aboundeth also in Lead and Lac; Jangoma, stored with Copper, Muske, Pepper, Silke, Gold, Silver. Lawran, where is store of Bejoine, enough to lade ships; the eighth and ninth are the Kingdomes of Trucon, whence many china wares are transported to us; the tenth and eleventh are the Kingdomes of Cablan abounding in Gemmes, neere to the Kingdome of Aava, betwixt it and China. The twelfth is the Kingdome of Sion, which he subdued last, and in that expedition is said to have armed one million and sixty thousand men, taking one of ten with him to that warre." Of these Cavelan and Cablan are probably the same place, Mogôk-Kyatpyin; Bacan is Pagān, Jangoma is Zimmè, which Fitch calls Iamahey; Tangram may be Toungoo.

Cæsar Fredericke's figures are certainly exaggerated, and he feels it necessary to explain: "The maintenance of this Armie is a thing incredible to consider, and the victuals that should maintain such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily believe it, I have seene with mine eyes, that those people and souldiers have eaten of all sortes of wilde beasts that are on the earth, whether it be very filthie or otherwise, all serveth for their mouthes. Yea, I have seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and Salt, they will maintain themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers and leaves of trees: they carrie Rice with

them for their Voyage, and that serveth them instead of comfits, it is so dainty unto them. . . .

"In the Land, for People, Dominions, Gold and Silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength."

In a court near the royal palace there are "fourre gilded houses covered with Lead, and in every one of these are certaine heathenish Idols of a very great value. In the first House there is a Statue of the Image of a Man of Gold very great, and on his head a Crowne of gold, beset with most rare Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are fourre little children of gold. In the second House there is the Statue of a Man of Silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as he sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one rooffe of an house; I measured his feet and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a Crowne on his head like to the first. And in the third House there is a Statue of Brasse of the same bignes, with a like Crowne on his head. In the fourth and last House, there is a Statue of a Man, as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, and this metall is made of Copper and Lead mingled together. This Statue also hath a Crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place, that every man of his pleasure may goe and see it: for the keepers thereof never forbid any man the sight thereof.

"The King sitteth every day in person to heare the Suits of his Subjects, but he nor they never speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The King sitteth up aloft in a great Hall, on a Tribunall seate, and lower under him sit áll his Barons round about, then those that demand audience enter into a great Court before the King, and there set them downe on the ground forty paces distant from the King's person, and amongst

those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the King, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made with long leaves of a tree, these leaves are three-quarters of a yard long, and two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe Iron made for the purpose, and in these leaves are their supplications written, and with their supplications they have in their hands a present or gift according to the weightinesse of their matter. Then come the Secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them and reading them before the King, and if the King thinke it good to doe to them that favour or justice that they demand then hee commandeth to take the presents out of their hands, but if he thinke their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents."

Fitch condenses Cæsar Fredericke's notes on trade. "In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia painted Cloth of Saint Thome, or of Masulipatan, and White Cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantities. They bring thither also much Cotton Yarne, red-coloured with a root which they call Saja, which will never lose his colour ; it is very well sold here, and very much of it commeth yeerely to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, Saint Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the barre of Negrais and to Cosmin. To Martavan, a port of the Sea, in the Kingdome of Pegu, come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porce-laine and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion [Syriam] a port of Pegu, come ships from Mecca with Woollen Cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe [this is a South Indian word : Tamil and Telugu. The Burmese name is Pwèsa] which are bound to sell your

goods at the price which they bee worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred : and they bee bound to make your debt good, because you sell your Merchandises upon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home and keepe him in your house : which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his Slaves, and bind them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne ; for that is the Law of the Countrey. The current money in these parts is a kind of brasse which they call Gansa. . . . The Gold and Silver is Merchandise, and is worth sometimes more and sometimes lesse, as other wares bee. This brassen money doth goe by a weight which they call a Biza (*viss, Beit-tha*) ; and commonly this Biza, after our account, is worth about halfe a crowne, or somewhat lesse. The Merchandise which bee in Pegu, are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spineles, Musk, Benjamin or Frankincense, long Pepper, Tinne, Lead, Copper, Lacca, whereof they make hard waxe, Rice, and Wine made of Rice, and some sugar."

Cæsar Fredericke says the Customs officers were very strict. " God deliver every man that he give not a wrong note and entrie, or thinke to steal any Custome : for if they doe, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the King doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceived of his Custome ; and therefore they make diligent searches three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land."

He warns all travellers in the Indies that they " must carie all manner of houshold-stuffe with them, which is necessary for a house, because there is not any lodging, nor Innes, nor Hosts, nor Chamber-roome in that countrie, but the first thing a man doth when hee commeth to any Citie, is to hyre a house."

He adds that there is a great deal of thieving. " In the Great Hall of the King there come many Gentlemen

accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these Gentlemen have no shame that their slaves robbe strangers."

Of Arakan he says: "This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu and the greatest enemie he hath is the King of Pegu, which King of Pegu deviseth night and day how to make this King of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the King of Pegu hath no power or armie by Sea. And the King of Rachim may arme two hundreth Gallies, or Fusts, by Sea, and by land hee hath certain Sluces, with the which when the King of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the countrey."

Gasparo Balbi, a jeweller of Venice, left that place in 1579 and visited Burma in 1583. He left "Cosmi" on the 26th October and reached Dalla on the 2nd November, recording the villages he passed, none of which can be identified. He was greatly perturbed by the "multitude of Tigres, which in these parts assaile men and destroy as many as they can get."

The next day he crossed to "the faire citie of Dogon. After we were landed we began to goe on the right hand in a large street about fifty paces broad, in which wee saw wooden houses gilded, and adorned with delicate gardens after their custome, wherein their Talapois, which are their Friars, dwell and look to the Pagod, or Varella, of Dogon. The left side is furnished with Portals and Shops, very like the new Procuratia at Venice; and by this street they goe towards the Varella, for the space a good mile straight forwards, either under paint houses, or in the open street, which is free to walke in. When we came to the Varella, we found a paire of staires of ninety steps, as long in my judgement as the chanell of the Rialto at Venice. . . . At the right hand is a Varella gilded in a round forme, made of stone, and as much in compasse as

the street before the Venetian Palace, if it were round ; and the height may equall Sain Markes Bell-tower, not the top of it, but the little Pinnaces."

He took eleven days from Cosmin to Pegu and " After that I was provided of a good Druggerman and Interpreter, the noise of Trumpets was heard, which signified wee should see the King and have audience of him, wee entred within the second gate, whereby they goe into the Court-yard, and the Interpreter and I cast ourselves upon our knees on the ground and with our hands elevated in humble wise, and making a shew three times before we rose, of kissing the ground ; and three other times wee did thus before wee came neere to the place where the King sat with his Semini, prostrate on the earth."

Balbi had an actual audience of the king, due perhaps to the emeralds which he presented to him. Fitch and Cæsar Fredericke appear only to have seen him as a cat might. His Majesty asked the stock questions: name, age, nationality, and when he heard that Venice was a republic " began to laugh so exceedingly, that hee was overcome of the cough."

The conversation was carried on through a *nā-hkan* whom Balbi calls a " nagiran, that is to say, the Lord of his words," and Balbi assured him that " the fame of his bountie, courtesie and greatnesse was spread over the world, and especially in our parts, to be the greatest king in the world," all this with the " Rombee " (the *Shi-hko* of later times) at every word. This complaisance made things unpleasant for our envoys later, for Michael Symes, Hiram Cox, and Col. Burney were not inclined for the Rombee. But it was profitable in Balbi's case: " He gave me a Cup of gold, and five pieces of China Damaske of divers colours. . . . Moreover, the King ordered that for the wares which I had brought, the Decacini should not make me pay any taxe or custome."

This was the king Nanda Buyin, who made war upon

his uncle, the King of Ava. According to Balbi, the " King of Avva " neglected to be present at his nephew's installation, killed one of his messengers, and stirred up " the Grandes of the Kingdome of Pegu " against their lord. Nanda Buyin had them all arrested " unto the women great with child and those that were in their swadling clothes," and he burned them all. " There were foure thousand in this number that were so burned, great and small, for which execution were publike, Guards placed by the King, and all of the old and new Citie were forced to assist them ; I also went thither and saw it with great compassion and grieve, that little children without any fault should suffer such martyrdome."

" Ten dayes after that I saw the King upon an elephant all over covered with Gold and Jewels goe to the warre with great courage, with a Sword after our custome, sent him by the Vice-roy of Goa, the hilt whereof was gilded : the said Vice-roy was called Don Luis di Zuida. The two kings met and fought botly to body without any hinderance of the armies . . . as did also the Guard of this King with that of the other, and after the Kings had fought a while, hand to hand, first with Harquebusses, then with Darts, and lastly with the Sword, the Elephant of the King of Pegu brake his right tooth with charging that of Avva."

Balbi says the King of Ava was killed in the fight, but the historians say he escaped to China and died there. He also says two hundred thousand men died on each side in the battle. This is no doubt exaggeration, even if we admit that hand to hand fighting is more deadly than " sloshing with machine guns," but it prompted the King of Sion (Siam) to take umbrage at the fact that " a slave had given answer to his sonne, when he had sent to aide the King himselfe " and to announce that he no longer " held him for his Lord."

Nanda Buyin resolved to punish him and sent an army

under his son, the yuva rāja, to attack Ayuthia But he had not the success that Buyin Naung had had. Phra Naret, the King of Siam, was a sturdy fighter, and "the great Brama," as Balbi calls the yuva rāja, had to retreat, and Nanda Buyin then led another force himself with no better success. Retreats in those days were deplorably costly and the king got back to Pegu with only a sorry remnant of his army. He was obstinate enough to send another under the yuva rāja, who was defeated and killed.

Nanda Buyin's son, the King of Prome, rebelled, and so did the other tributary kings. Arakan, with the help of bands of Portuguese adventurers, took Syriam, and the King of Taung-ngu invested and took Pegu and put to death the king whose glories Fitch and Balbi had recorded.

Nicolas Pimenta, Andrew Boves, and Francis Fernandes, the Jesuits, describe the misery which followed the magnificence. Pimenta says that the Peguans "presenting the former dreadfull slaughters and losses to their mindes, some became Talapoies [Friars in their Ethnicisme], others hid themselves in Desarts and Woods, and many sold themselves for slaves. The King caused Xiimbogo his Uncle to search the publike Records, and to presse one halfe to the warres; he also proclaimed that all which in such a space had turned Talapoies should returne secular; the young should be compelled to the warres, the old to be exiled into the Region of the Bramas, whom he after changed away for Horses. Hee ordained also that all Peguans should be branded in the right hand, that every mans name, Countrie and condition might be known. They seeing themselves thus opprobriously branded, Talapoies forced to return Secular, and olde men exchanged for horses, began to rebell."

Prome, Taung-ngu, and Arakan joined in the rising against the doomed King of Kings: "The Siamite taketh opportunitie and marcheth against Pegu in harvest time.

Some of their fruits were hastily inned, the rest burned by the King's command."

Pimenta describes what Golden Pegu became: "In late times they have beene brought to such miserie and want, that they did eate mans flesh and kept publike shambles thereof, Parents abstained not from their Children and Children devoured their Parents. The stronger by force preyed on the weaker, and if any were but skinnne and bone, yet they open their intrailles to fill their owne and sucked out their braines. The women went about the streets with knives to the like butcherly purposes."

There was universal destruction: "The whole tract from Pegu to Martavan and Murmulan [Maulmein] was brought to a wilderness. . . . Prom was left to the habitation of wilde beasts." Boves went from "Tangu to Syrian, the chiefe Port in Pegu. It is a lamentable spectacle to see the bankes of the Rivers, set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruines of gilded Temples, and noble edifices; the wayes and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished, and cast into the River, in such numbers that the multitude of carkasses prohibiteth the way and passage of any ship; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this the cruellest of Tyrants that ever breathed."

The king's treasure that was carried off "was so much that scarcely sixe hundred Elephants, and as many Horses, were sufficient to carrie away the Gold and Gemmes only. For I say nothing of the Silver and other Metals, as things of no price." Philip Brito, of whom we shall hear more later, was with Boves on this journey of fifteen days.

The Portugals, as the travellers of the time invariably call them, were very active in all these operations. They aided Phra Naret, and they saved Pegu from the assault of the Siamese. The King of Arakan brought consider-



MINISTERS OF STATE IN COUNCIL DRESS WEARING THE SAIVU ORDER

able numbers with him to force the King of Taung-ngu to hand over half the plunder of Pegu, according to agreement, but contented himself with carrying off "the Silver which the King of Tangu had left, exceeding three millions, besides many and rare pieces of brazen Ordnance remayning in that Castle."

Huighen van Linschoten gives a very shrewd and impartial account of Goa and the Portuguese at this time. "Touching the Portugals justice and ordinances, as well in worldly as spiritual cause, they are all one as they are in Portugal." The settlement was cosmopolitan, and on the whole they were tolerant, though as regards "devillish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbishop to use them openly, or in the Iland, but they may freely use them upon the Firme Land and secretly in their houses."

Albuquerque encouraged his men to marry native women, and those that succeeded them needed no encouraging. "The children proceeding of them are called Mestiços, that is half countrymen. . . . The children of the Portugals, both boyes and girles, which are borne in India are called Castiços and are in all things like the Portugals, only somewhat differing in colour, for they draw toward a yellow colour; the children of these Castiços are yellow and altogether like the Mestiços, and the children of Mestiços are of colour and fashion like the naturall borne Countrimen or Decaniins [people of the Deccan] of the Countrie, so that the posteritie of the Portugals, both men and women being in the third degree, doe seeme to be naturall Indians, both in colour and fashion.

"There are among them but two manner of people, that is, Married Men and Souldiers, for that all Young men, unmarried, are named Souldiers, which is the best name that a man can have; not that the Souldiers are any wayes bound or under the commandment and Regiment of any Captaine, which throughout India is not used,

but when the Portugals come into India out of Portugall, and are arrived there, every man goeth where he thinketh best, although in Portugall every man's name that goeth in the ship is written and registred."

Promotion was very easy : " It is now growne so common among them, that very Cookes Boyes and others as meane as they, are made Knights.

" When they goe in the Streets they step very softly and slowly forwards, with a great pride and vaine-glorious majestie, with a Slave that carrieth a great Hat or vayle over their heads, to keepe the Sunne and Raine from them."

There were frequent assassinations : " This is their common custome, and is never looked unto or once corrected. Also they use long bagges full of Sand, wherewith they will give such blowes each upon other, that therewith they will breake each others limbes, and for ever after make them lame."

These were the turbulent people who wandered far afield to Burma and fought for anyone who would pay them. The Burmese were a wild, hot-blooded race, and these mercenaries certainly did not lead them to mend their ways.

At the same time numbers of Armenians flocked to the country. These did not teach the Burmese trading habits, but they did their best to make them distrust foreigners of other nations

The Burman did not change through the centuries. These experiences of early travellers remained true of the country until the Burmese monarchy was finally extinguished.

CHAPTER VIII

UPPER AND LOWER KINGDOMS AGAIN

BUYIN NAUNG's great empire did not last long. He was succeeded by his eldest son, the *yuva rāja*. The Talaing Chronicle gives him the reigning title of Nanda Buyin, and in the *Mahā Yāzawin* he is styled *Nga-su Daraga*. Buyin Naung was buried with all the solemnities of a *Chakravartti Rāja*, a universal monarch, and Nanda Buyin's son was named *Upayāza* or Crown Prince. The later, purely Burmese style of *Engshemin*, had not been introduced.

Buyin Naung's Arakan expeditionary force was immediately recalled from Sandoway (the Burmese *Thanlyin*) and there were soon hints of trouble. Custom required that the tributary kings should come in person to do homage, and the king's uncles of Prome and Taung-ngu did so, as also did the King of Siam, but Thado Minsaw, a third uncle, not only did not come, but made proposals to Prome and Taung-ngu, his brothers, that they should withdraw their allegiance. The pretext seems to have been that the *Upayāza* was not sufficiently kind to his wife, Thado Minsaw's daughter. The uncles of Prome and Taung-ngu not only refused to join in the conspiracy, but gave Nanda Buyin to understand that many of his own officials were implicated, and the result was the holocaust of which Gasparo Balbi was a witness. He says four thousand were burnt, but his horror probably saw more than double. They were fond of large, round numbers in those days.

Phra Naret, the King of Siam, did indeed come to

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pay homage, but it was probably because he wanted to see for himself what the situation was. He had no doubt passed through Chiengmai, and had learned of the Ava plot from the chief there. When, therefore, Nanda Buyin marched north to punish his uncle, Phra Naret not only did not follow him to Ava, as he was required to do, but hung about Pegu in a very menacing way.

When news came of Nanda Buyin's spectacular victory over his uncle and the establishment of his son, Mingyi Kyawswa, as tributary king of the Upper Country, the King of Siam withdrew, but carried off a considerable number of the population of Martaban with him. These were very probably Shans from Chiengmai and the Lao country generally, but at any rate the proceeding was sufficiently defiant. The yuva rāja was therefore sent off to punish him, but was met on the Mènam and defeated at Suphanburi.

Nanda Buyin had, perhaps, the spirit, but not the military skill, of his father. In 1587 he himself led an army against his revolting Siamese tributary, but was led into an ambush under the walls of Ayuthia by Naret, who is as great a hero to Siam as Tabin Shweti to Burma, and the King of Kings had to make a disastrous retreat. Three years later the crown prince was again sent against Ayuthia, with orders to take it, but he not only was defeated but himself was killed.

The king's son at Ava was named yuva rāja (or Upayāza) in his stead, and defeated an insurrection in Mogaung; but Buyin Naung's great empire was breaking up, and its collapse was hurried on by the reckless desperation of his successor. He distrusted and executed many of his loyal officials, and even put numbers of Talaing monks to death. A very great number of the Môn at this time fled to Siam, where there still is a great colony of them. The country was reduced to the state of desolation which Pimenta and Boves have described,

and except Nyaungyan Min in Ava, all his family fell away from him. Ruin came with the suddenness of a south-west monsoon squall. Just as many notables from Ava had migrated to Taung-ngu, Peguan men of position now moved to Ava, the more readily because the Shans had been evicted. Phra Naret of Siam, not content with invading Cambodia and capturing Lawek, its capital, threatened Pegu also, and advanced as far as Martaban. The King of Arakan recollected the tremors of his country in the face of Peguan menace. Moreover, the Emperor Akbar's operations in Bengal had weakened the powers there who had formerly all but ruled Arakan. Arakan had absorbed Chittagong, and had even pushed beyond to the Megna River.

Therefore, when the King of Taung-ngu suggested to him that the conquest of Pegu seemed easy, and the prospect of loot enormous, he agreed with alacrity. The Arakan fleet was always formidable in those days, and Syriam, then a considerable port, was taken, apparently without any sea fight. At the same time the King of Taung-ngu sent his son down the Sittang with an army against Pegu. Presumably he thought it better that cousins should fight one another rather than that uncle should crush nephew, though in those days the closest relations were often the bitterest enemies.

Pegu was attacked on both sides—by land and by water. The townspeople were sullen, worn-out, and perhaps disaffected. At any rate, notwithstanding its strong defences and its immense resources, it very soon surrendered, and was ravaged in thoroughly Oriental and Scriptural fashion. This was in 1596, and it meant the end of Pegu as a capital city. The hapless Nanda Buyin was carried off prisoner to Taung-ngu, and was put to death by "the queen," whom we may take to have been his aunt, and who already had executed Nanda Buyin's son.

The Portuguese chroniclers tell us more about the

calamities which befel the country than the Burmese history. Pimenta and Boves and Faria y Sousa expatiated on the plunder of many countries that had been heaped up during three reigns. No doubt they exaggerate. They had the habit of it. The Burmese, who despise wealth as wealth, hardly say more than that the Arakanese did not take part in the occupation and the razing of the city, but "a portion of the prizes, including a white elephant and one of the King of King's daughters, was reserved for them." To the national mind this was vastly more significant. To the disinterested observer the most impressive fact was that the Burmese Empire, which had extended farther than it had even done before, or was to extend again, was broken up into a number of petty principalities, all prepared to gird at and fight with one another. The King of Siam did not miss the opportunity. He came with a huge army and the intention of taking Ava. He did invest Taung-ngu, but himself died or was killed early in the campaign. Nevertheless, he had put in a Talaing governor, with the old racial name of Pinya Dala, to hold Martaban in Siam's interests, and he had annexed Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Mergui. These unfortunate districts were tossed backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock for long years, to their great discomfort and detriment. Tenasserim, with Mergui for its port, was a not inconsiderable place of trade before the route round the Cape of Good Hope changed the whole situation for the East. It was, however, the transference of the capital of Siam from Ayuthia to Bangkok which finally ruined Tenasserim.

The fall of the Peguan kingdom and its disruption was not the only misfortune. The country swarmed with Portuguese adventurers, most probably largely half-caste, as a result of Albuquerque's marriage system, and they probably well deserved Sousa's denunciation.

The most conspicuous of the Portuguese intruders,

however, was not Indian-born at any rate, though, for all that is known of him, he may have had Moorish blood. This was Philip de Brito y Nicote, who came to the East as a ship's boy, and in some way which is not explained, entered the service of the King of Arakan, and was some sort of hanger-on about the palace. The King of Arakan, whom the Burmese label Min Yāzagi, had taken to himself the Mahomedan title of Salim Shah, possibly as a protest against both Burma and Portugal. In the combination against Nanda Buyin the Arakanese had taken Syriam. Until Rangoon was created by Alaung-payā, Syriam was the chief seaport of Burma, and Salim Shah had the sense to see that, in face of Portuguese sea-power, it was hopeless for him to hold it with his own resources. Therefore he appointed Philip de Brito to the charge of the Syriam Custom House with a sort of general authority to represent him (whom the Portuguese called Ximiliksa), in conjunction with the garrison commandant, who was an Arakanese, and quite helpless to control the unruly foreigners.

Philip de Brito, for his part, had his ambitions, and he soon became as supreme in Burma as Constantine Falcon, the son of a Cephalonian innkeeper, became in Siam.

At this time the foreigners controlled affairs all over the East and the Farther East, and no doubt helped a good deal to egg on the various populations to the perpetual wars, which are the only matters which interest the old chroniclers. This is evident from the "Journal" of Floris, which is given in the "Seventh Voyage" of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Peter Williamson Floris did not himself visit Burma, but he gives the account of the events current in the East at the time. Floris, though a Dutchman, "covenanted and agreed with the Right Worshipful, the Governour and Deputie of the East Indian Societie," and sailed in the *Globe* from the Downs "the fift of February 1610 Stylo Angliæ." Most of his

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voyaging was in the East Indian Archipelago, Japan, and Siam, but he diligently collected news.

"The King of Siam dying, left two sonnes, which were brought up in the Kings Court of Pegu. But flying from thence to Siam, the eldest, called in the Malayan language, Raja Api, or the Fiery King, and by the Portugals, the Blacke King [Phra Naret, the Byanarit of the Burmese], set up himself as king; against whom the King of Pegu sent his sonne the Prince [yuva rāja], who was slaine in these warres, and hath beene occasion of the destruction of the whole kingdome, and many millions of Peguan lives. For the King sore grieved for the death of his sonne, caused his chief Peguan Lords and Souldiers (himself being of the kindred of the Brama's) to be slaine. This caused great perturbation, divers tributary kings (whereof hee had twentie) falling daily from him; which at the last encouraged this Blacke King to make warre against him, going to the city of Unxa or Pegu, before which he lay some two moneths, without doing anything; he brake up his siege and returned to Siam. But the King of Pegu not long after, because of the great dearth and death, gave over himselfe, and all his treasure, into the hands of the King of Tangu; to prevent also falling into the hands of the King of Arracan, comming against him with a mightie power. This King of Arracan easily made himselfe Master of the Towne and Countrey, almost emptie and famished. Thinking to go into Tangu: That King sent Embassadors, offering to deliver unto him certaine portions of the treasures of Pegu, the White Elephant, and the Kings daughter (both of which I have seene in Arracan, Anno 1608), as also the King of Pegu, or else to kill him (as afterwards it happened that the King of Tangu slew him with a Pilon, wherewith they stamp their Rice, as being free against any stabbing). In this manner came this mightie Empire to ruine, so that at this day there is no remembrance of it. The King of Arracan

gave the Towne or Fort of Siriagh, lying upon the same River of Pegu, in keeping to the Portugals, especially to Philip de Brito y Nicote, to whom he gave the name of Xenga, that is Honest, which honor Xenga did after requite, taking his sonne prisoner some three or foure years after, and ransomed him at eleven hundred thousand Tangans, and ten Galeas of Rice ; who yet also dominereeth and careth for nobodie.

" Thus by Pegu's destruction was Siam restored, and hath since brought in subjection the Kingdomes of Cambaya, Lanjanh [Lanzin or Wying Chan], Lugor, Patane, Teneserin and divers others."

Floris gives us a picture of the rivalries and enmities between the various trading nations, and of the employment of Orientals to defeat rival Europeans :

" I cannot imagine what the Hollanders meane to suffer these Maleysians, Chinesians and Moores of those Countries, and to assist them in their free Trade thorow all the Indies, and forbid it their owne Servants, Countrymen and Brethren, upon paine of death and losse of goods. Surely a token of great ignorance or envie, suffering Turkes and Heathens to grow rich rather than their owne Countreyemen should get their living. Surely a great ingratitude, and a token that God's punishment is comming upon them." At Pulicat again: " Iohn van Wersicke, the Dutch President on the Coast of Choromandell, shewed us a Caul (or conduct) from the King of Narsinga, Wencapiti Raja, wherein was granted, that it should not be lawfull for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent, and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of England, and would therefore doe what we could. Hence arose high words, which the Sabandar [harbour master] calmed, telling of the Governesse, her comming thither within three dayes." But the *Globe* had to sail for Masulipatam without doing business.

At Masulipatam where "that day arrived a Navette from Pegu, wherein came Cornelius Francke, by whom we understood, that it was certaine that the King of Awa had taken the Fort of Sirjanh, and slaine all the Portugals, and that Xenga or Philip de Britto, was either spitted or soulath'd. This was done in March last. The King had given order for rebuilding the old Towne, calling all the Peguers together and making many faire promises. Himselfe was gone forward toward Tenesserin, where Banga Dela [Pinya Dala] came to him with fiftie thousand Peguers, who before had been under the King of Siam. The Moores in Masulipatam rejoyce greatly at this conquest, hoping to get the trade of Pegu into their hands againe and prepare two ships to send thither in September."

Floris, in his own way, was quite as energetic and masterful as any of the "Portugals." He had not been paid for the goods he had delivered and became impatient.

"I called freshly for my Debts, and writ thereof the third time to the Court, telling them that I would be payd the interest also; whereupon they writ to Mir Mahumad Rasa and the Sabandar, to looke that I be contented. The three and twentieth, the ship came into the Roade of Masulipatam, and I tooke order for shipping the goods. On the five and twentieth came newes of the death of Wencatadrapa, King of Velur, after his fiftie yeares raigne, and that his three wives (of whom Oryama, Queene of Paleacatte was one) had burned themselves quicke with the Corps. Great troubles are feared; the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle, new built in Paleacatte. Soone after came sixtie sixe Souldiers to strengthen it, in the *Lion*. . . . I seeing the Governour's trifling delayes for his Debt, and being in danger thereby, not to returne this yeare, resolved to carie him or his sonne from the Custome House aboard the ship, how dangerous soever the attempt seemed, the whole Company promising to live and dye with me. Whereupon I gave order for

the Boat to goe aboard, and to bring six Muskets wrapped up in the Sailes, and so to lie in the Custome House, till we should see our oportunitie. Moreover, seeing we may not bring any weapons on shore, I gave order that all our folkes should stay within the House, and come to mee in the Custome House as soone as I should send for them five, to take hold of the Souldiers Pikes, that were of the Governours, or his sonnes Guard, and so presently to enter the Custome House, which standeth hard by the Rivers side, and then to shut the doore. So might we be able to carry them into the Boat, before the alarme be knowne in the Towne : wee having them in the Boate, wee needed not to feare. We kept it secretly, yet had the Hollanders intelligence, who esteemed it a bragge, and so revealed it not. . . . On the foure and twentieth [November] I demanded my money of the Governour very angerly, having stayed seven moneths longer then bargain, asking also Mir Mahumad Rasa, why he did not helpe me according to the Letters of the Court ; who laughingly answered, they would talke with me in the Custome House when my anger was over. I replied, I would no longer bee made a Foole, I would shew my selfe a Captaine of the King of England, who are not accustomed to such knavish dealing. Thus went I to the Custome House, where I found the Governour's sonne with a small Guard, his Souldiers having set their Launces over against the Custome House, it now being also high-water, as if God had offered occasions fore-locke. Wherefore I sent home (as was before agreed) for Master Skinner and the rest (leaving only three to looke to the house), who presently came and laid hold on the Pikes, and entring the Custome House, shut the doore. In the mean time I held Wencatadra arrested by the armes, til two or three came to me, who taking him in their armes carryed him into the Boat, into which I presently leaped, and beeing followed of the rest, put off from shoare rowing away :

so that before his Father and Mir Mahumad Rasa could come to the Custome House, wee were in full rowing. But in regard that it blew hard, and that we were forced to row under land, within the length of two cables, to keep the depth of the Channell; they came with might and mayne to pursue us: some comming hard by the Boate, but were out rowed. Some met us in front which had indangered us, but discharging three Muskets we frightened them, and carryed away our prey in sight of three thousand people, being much past the Barre before they could come to it, and came safe aboard. I had given order to George Chancey to stay ashoare with three men more, to give a reason of this Hostilitie, and to get in the Debts; but he, contrary hereto, going forth of the house to see this Enterprize, was by some unruly fellowes set upon and thorowly beaten; which comming to the Governour's care, hee tooke him into his protection, fearing his sonne might pay for it.

"In the after-noone came from shoare Werner van Berchem the Hollander, with the Kings Interpreter, to demand the cause of this action, whom I answered that they knew it well enough, and I had also left my under Merchant on shoare to tell them, of whose hard usage understanding, I made as though I would be revenged on Wencatadra, but by Van Berchems intercession, remitted it, conditionally to execute the same, hanging him at the yard (which he writ to his Father) if any of my men should be wronged. I prohibited also any Boat to come aboard without a Letter from George Chancey, else would I set them all before the mast. The Hollanders Van Berchem, with the Secretarie, came aboard again on the seven and twentieth, offering the Governours owne Debt: I demanded no more but his and Callopas whose suretie hee was, and for the rest, that he as Governour should send such as refused to pay aboard; and I would hold my selfe satisfied. Berchem also protested against me of

all dammages, which they had bound, or might beare, because of my Hostilitie ; to which protest I answered by writing, shewing the nullitie thereof, and their ship the same night departed for Patane. In the meane-while, Wencatadra remayned aboard without eating or drinking. For he being a Bramene, may neither eate nor drinke in any mans house but what hee hath dressed himselfe ; which made mee so to pittie him, that I offered, if any two Moores of qualitie would come aboard in his place, I would let him goe on shoare. But none would undertake it, and he must continue his fast. The Governour therefore payd his and Callopas Debt, and made all the rest to pay, except Miriapeik and Datapa, which were in Golconda, and I sent backe my Prisoner, the thirtieth of November.

" After this agreement divers Moores and others came aboard to visit mee, promising to write to the King the truth of these proceedings, desiring me not to hurt any Moores ships. I answered I was for this time satisfied : but let them hereafter take heed of giving like cause, and have better eares for Englishmen's complaints. I also sent Letters to the King at Golconda to the same purpose for quicker Justice.

" The seventh of December, Master Chancey came aboard with the rest, and next night I put to Sea, having offered to come and take a friendly fare-well on shoare ; but the Governour fearing I would write of his dealing by those Moores, refused, pretending hee was ashamed to see my face, whom of a good friend he had made his Enemie."

The sturdy Dutchman shaped quite like the lordly Englishman. He died two months after he got back to England. The Oriental had not then acquired the " patient deep disdain." He was a resentful animal, and one can understand the massacring of the English factory staff at Negrais, the impaling of the odious de Brito, and even the murder of the brilliant Constantine Phaulcon, who

had done such good service for Siam. Slow payment of debts is so common a failing that to get fiery over it is beyond the understanding of lymphatic Orientals.

De Brito seems to have laid his plans from the moment of his appointment at Syriam. He suggested to the Arakan king that it was desirable to have a Custom House of brick. Then he built a fort to protect the Custom House and appointed a Portuguese officer, Salvador Ribeyro, commandant of the fort. Ribeyro made use of his position to expel the Arakanese commander from his post and from the port, and de Brito was then completely independent—"He yet also domineereth and careth for nobodie," as Floris puts it. He claimed to rule in the name of the King of Portugal, and went off to Goa to see the viceroy. There he was very well received, was married to Donna Luisa de Saldanha, whose mother was a Javanese woman, but nevertheless niece to the viceroy; was formally appointed Governor of Syriam, received a number of honorific titles, and left again with six Portuguese ships.

There had been trouble while he was away. The King of Arakan resented the expulsion of his general, and had no intention of losing Syriam. Therefore he sent an expedition to recover the port and received some assistance from a land force which came over from Prome.

De Brito had probably foreseen this. At any rate Portuguese reinforcements came from Goa and beat off the attackers. Possibly, however, it was only an opportune passing call by some of the viceroy's ships, for they soon left, and the Arakanese came and sat down in front of the position again. Ribeyro, meanwhile, had persuaded the Talaings to support him, and when de Brito arrived with his Portuguese galleons, the Arakan force withdrew. Ribeyro seems to have been quite as resourceful a man as his leader. During the eight months' siege, he burnt three of his ships in the port to prevent his scallywags from deserting to get food, and in addition had

juggled the Talaings into inviting de Brito to be King of Pegu.

De Brito lost no time in accepting the position, and proclaimed that he held the country for the King of Portugal. There was then some manœuvring. Salim Shah sent de Brito congratulations on his appointment. De Brito sent the Arakanese king a handsome present, but meanwhile strengthened his fortifications, marked out the boundaries of his capital and, as the Portuguese historian characteristically remarks, built a church. Salim Shah, for his part, negotiated with the King of Taung-ngu for a league against the upstart, and war broke out again. This time an Arakan fleet of several hundred vessels sailed round and up the Rangoon River. In the previous attack an army had crossed the hills and came down the Irrawaddy to ensure that Prome kept faith and joined in the venture. Taung-ngu duly descended the Sittang, but the plan was upset by the gallantry of Paulo de Rego Pinheiro, who with a few Portuguese ships so completely routed the Arakanese flotilla that Mêng Hka-maung, the king's son, who was in command, was taken prisoner. There was not a little Portuguese trade with Arakan, so the Viceroy of Goa ordered de Brito to release the prince, but he refused to do so for a less sum than fifty thousand crowns ransom money. The king preferred to risk the killing of his son to paying the money and, allied with Taung-ngu again, came on with a still more formidable force. This time Pinheiro was not so successful. The whole Portuguese squadron was destroyed and Pinheiro blew up his ship rather than surrender. There had, however, been some more mysterious intriguing, and Taung-ngu withdrew his forces. The fortifications were too strong to be taken, so the King of Arakan paid the ransom money and went home again with his son.

De Brito might now have settled down as the viceroy he called himself. He proposed an alliance with the

Kinglet of Taung-ngu and this was unblushingly accepted. He also secured himself on the eastern side by marrying his son Simon to the daughter of the Governor of Martaban, who is variously described as a Siamese, and as a Talaing, of the name of Pinya Dala. He might, perhaps, have extended his territory over the western side of the delta, where Bassein, and the parts thereby, were independent, but, lured by the tales of former Peguan splendour, and perhaps by a perverted idea of religion, he proceeded to dig into pagodas—to rifle the relic chambers of their golden images and jewelled treasures. He also seems to have ordered forcible conversion, for Sousa records that there were a hundred thousand Buddhists who became Christians. There was therefore a strong feeling of resentment, not merely in Pegu, but all over Burma.

This was the more dangerous for de Brito, because there had been an improvement of affairs in the Upper Country. Nyaung-yan Min, the brother of Nanda Buyin, had been left undisturbed in Ava, because the Southerners were too busy fighting with one another and scheming how to put a check on de Brito and his enterprises to trouble themselves about him. Nyaung-yan Min did not altogether remain at peace, but his enterprises were directed rather against the Shans than against the hereditary enemy. Mohnyin and Mogaung rather baffled him, but he made an end of the Bhamo chieftain and overran Hsipaw, Hsenwi, Mōng Mit, and Yawng-hwe. But it was kick and rush business compared with former struggles, and before long, after having recovered Yamèthin for Ava, he died in Mōng Mit in 1604. The Mahā Yāzawin, as quoted by Father Sangermano, has not much to say about him: "His principal queen was his own sister [this was not a peculiarity of his. All the kings of Burma married one of their sisters, with the idea of keeping the royal line permanent and untainted, but the sisters were always half-sisters, never uterine sisters] and besides her he had

twelve inferior ones, all daughters of kings or princes, by whom he had ten sons and twelve daughters. He was transported to the abodes of the *Nat* in the eighth year of his reign and the fiftieth of his age. On the day of his death a thunderbolt set fire to the gate of the palace." This last detail is usually a demure way of hinting that there was trouble about the succession, but it does not appear that the son, who took the title of Mahā Dhammayāza, found it necessary to kill any of his nine brothers before settling down.

Prome at this time was independent. The ruler, a nephew of Nyaung-yan Min, had started out to attack his uncle, but was murdered by one of his own officers, who then thought it better to go back to kill the rest of the family and settle himself in Prome rather than to go on against Ava. Nyaung-yan Min bound his successor to take Prome and to do what he could to re-establish the empire of Buyin Naung, and Mahā Dhammayāza made a very fairly successful effort to do it. He took Prome after a siege of eight months and put a brother in charge. Upon this the Kings of Taung-ngu, Chiangmai, and Arakan sent him presents and compliments. Arakan had promised to help Prome but did not do it. Probably all of them were in desperate terror of de Brito and hoped that in Ava there was going to appear a power that would make an end of him. Māha Dhammayāza, at any rate, was not satisfied with mere sympathy, so he marched on Taung-ngu. Taung-ngu promptly submitted and gave up some of his family as hostages. This defection of his ally enraged de Brito and he, with the Governor of Martaban, marched up to Taung-ngu, sacked the town, burnt the palace, and carried off Nat-shin, the king, as his prisoner. Nat-shin was Mahā Dhammayāza's cousin. That was a trifle that did not matter, but the carrying off of a vassal was flat defiance, so the King of Ava took up the challenge and, after two years' careful preparation, set out for

Syriam with a great flotilla of war boats and all the men he could muster. We need not accept the Portuguese "immense" figures.

De Brito had been too vainglorious. His triumphs had been too easy. According to Faria y Sousa, he had allowed many of his Portugals and others to go to India on furlough. He was also short of powder and trusted too much to his fortifications. He had not even laid in a sufficient stock of provisions, and in thirty-four days he had to sue for mercy, but no answer was returned. Mahā Dhammayāza had no guns for a bombardment, but he closed round both by land and water. The King of Arakan sent fifty boats with the idea that he might recover Syriam for himself, but the investing forces took them all to prevent trickery. After a little over three months, a Talaing chief opened one of the gates, and the Avan force entered in the middle of the night. De Brito was impaled on a high stake in front of his own house and two others with him. It is said that his agony lasted three days. The rest of the foreign garrison, a great many of them of mixed race, as well as de Brito's wife, were carried off to slavery in Upper Burma. Descendants of them are still to be traced round about Shwebo and they furnished the gunners for Burmese armies in later days. The Burmese histories denounce de Brito chiefly as a sacrilegious wretch. If he had had sense and balance he might have founded a kingdom like Rajah Brooke, but probably his men would have made it impossible. They were utter scum.

A few days after Syriam fell, five ships with arms and ammunition arrived from Goa, and not long after a provision ship from Acheen, consigned to de Brito's wife, but if they had been in time the result could hardly have been different, for they were all captured but one.

Mahā Dhammayāza then marched upon Martaban. The governor submitted, and in obedience to the king's

orders, put Simon, de Brito's son, to death. An Avan force was then sent on to Tavoy and took it, but was less successful at Tenasserim, where Christoforo Rebello, with a small Portuguese force, beat them back, thanks to four galliots in the port.

Mahā Dhammayāza now went back by way of Pegu, where he was formally proclaimed emperor. He did not remain there, but made Ava his capital, after a successful expedition to Chiengmai. This would hardly be worth recording, for there was no resistance to speak of, but it is interesting because it led to the first recorded official approach of the East India Company to a ruler of Burma. An Englishman, Thomas Samuel, had been sent up from Siam to inquire into the prospects of trade in the Lao country, and he was in Chiengmai when the Burmese army marched in. "Strangers" were not popular in Indo-China at the time, on account of the doings of the Portuguese and the Dutch, and Samuel was carried off with the rest and died in Pegu. A formal demand was sent from Masulipatam for the restoration of his property, and this was not only given up, but the two envoys brought back with it a "palmetto leaf letter," inviting the English to trade with the country. As a result of this, English factories were established at Syriam, Prome, Ava, and Bhamo. This was in 1619 and, with the exception of Bhamo, where, owing to the conduct of the Dutch, both nationalities were ordered to withdraw, these establishments remained in the country, with occasionally a somewhat hectic life.

Mahā Dhammayāza had now done much towards restoring a kingdom of Burma. There were viceroys, "tributary kings," the Mahā Yāzawin calls them, in Prome, Taung-ngu, Chiengmai, and Ava or Pegu, accordingly as the king was there himself or not. There were also governors in Martaban and Tavoy, and nominally in Tenasserim. With this he was content, but there were

other communications with India. The Emperor Jehangir is said to have sent an ambassador, and the Governor of Bengal is also reported to have dispatched an agent, as well as the Sultan of Achin. This proves that Burma was recognized as being something better than a cockpit, but it also shows that the East generally was growing restive under the doings of the Portuguese. Towards the end of his ten years' rule in Syriam, de Brito had sent an expedition, or a deputation, it is not clear which, to the King of Arakan, to demand the surrender of a fort. The king's reply was to massacre the delegates, but there was at any rate one who got away—a man, Sebastian Gonzales. He probably had a following with him, but at any rate there were plenty of adventurous ruffians drifting about, and Gonzales set up as pirate in the Sunderbunds. He soon gathered such a number round him at Sundip, where he defeated the Moghul commander and captured the whole of his fleet, that he even attempted to invade Arakan. In the unscrupulous fashion of those days, the King of Arakan suggested that it would be much more profitable for the two of them to unite and attack Bengal, which was then in a very distracted state.

Accordingly, a joint force advanced and overran the country up to Lakimpur, but here a superior Bengal force met them and chased them back nearly to Chittagong. An Arakan fleet had gone round to the mouth of the Ganges, and when the land force was routed, Gonzales seized the ships and murdered the Arakanese commander. Naturally, according to the principles of those days, he went back to his project of invading Arakan, and ravaged the whole coast, sailed up the Kuladan River, seized all the ships he found there, and attacked the town, but was beaten off. When he contracted with the king to attack Bengal he had left a nephew as a very necessary hostage for his good faith, and the king crucified the unfortunate youth in full view of Gonzales' fleet.

Gonzales now sent an envoy to the viceroy, Don Hieronimo de Azvedo, urging him to annex Arakan, which he represented to be both wealthy and weak. Goa was never backward in enterprises of the kind, or squeamish about its tools, so Don Francis de Meneses, who had been Governor of Ceylon for several years, was sent with an expedition which anchored within the Kuladan River bar in 1615. The king secured the help of some Dutch vessels which happened to be in port and, with what remained of his war boats, attacked, but was beaten off, and Gonzales, who arrived in November, a month later, joined his flotilla to Don Francis's and they proceeded up the river. Short of the capital the Dutch and Arakanese again engaged them, and in the fight Don Francis was killed. Gonzales dropped down the river, and after a parley, gave up the enterprise and went back to the Sunderbunds. The elated Arakanese followed him up to Sundip; Gonzales' followers deserted, and the Arakanese took possession of the group of islands at the mouth of the Ganges.

It was probably in connection with these doings that the communications passed between Burma and India. Nothing, however, resulted. Bengal was too distracted to trouble about the uninviting swamps of the Sunderbunds and, quite conceivably, thought the Arakanese much less troublesome neighbours there than the masterful and thrusting Portuguese. At any rate, Arakan remained in real, or nominal, possession of Sundip and the adjoining islands for a matter of forty years. In 1663-4 they were stirred up and aided by the Portuguese to invade Bengal, and they ravaged the country as far as Dacca, which had temporarily become the seat of Government, but in 1666 they were finally expelled from the islands by Hussein Beg, the general of Shaista Khan, the new Governor of Bengal.

In the interval, Arakan had had a new connection with

India of a different kind. Shah Sujah fled to Arakan in 1660, when he was defeated by Mir Jumla, the general of Aurungzeb. He was promised protection, crossed the Nâf River, and was treated with distinction for some time, but the King of Arakan fell in love with one of his daughters and wanted to marry her. Shah Sujah scornfully replied that he could not give her to a heretic, and that he would leave at the end of the monsoon. He was ordered to go at once. There was a scuffle. Shah Sujah was drowned ; his daughters were carried off to the capital ; two poisoned themselves ; the one who had caught the king's fancy stabbed herself before his eyes, and in default of her, he compelled the youngest to marry him and she died very soon afterwards. Two sons were then drowned, and thus the whole family was put an end to. Quite possibly this turned away India from concerted action with Burma against the Portuguese.

Mahā Dhammayāza was content with his early successes, and with the exception that he did not hold Arakan and did hold Chiengmai, the extent of his kingdom corresponded fairly exactly with the British province as it now is. He is said to have hung a bell at his palace gate with inscriptions in Burmese and Talaing, inviting anyone with a grievance to strike it and be admitted. This bell, according to Sir Arthur Phayre, now hangs in a Hindu temple at Zillah Aligarh. It was carried off by the Arakanese in a raid which they made in the reign of Mahā Dhammayāza's successor, and in the First Burmese War a native officer in one of our irregular cavalry regiments took it away with him to India.

Mahā Dhammayāza died in 1628, and he was followed by a series of incompetent rulers who let the kingdom fall to pieces again. Perhaps it was not so much want of ambition or enterprise on the part of the kings as utter weariness on the part of the people. The two races, Burmese and Môn, were indeed united under one ruler,

but they continued to cordially dislike one another. The depopulating wars of two centuries could not well have any other result. It was sullen resentment on the part of the Talaings because they were put into the second place, and had to go to Ava as their capital. It was the national Burmese conviction of their superiority, qualified by uneasy resentment at the monotonous way in which Burmese governors of Pegu were murdered by the population. At any rate, for about a hundred and fifty years, there was a colourable sort of peace between the Upper and Lower Country.

The empire as a whole, however, dwindled away. The Manipuris became aggressive. They not only annexed the Kubo (or Kabaw) Valley, but they made a plundering raid as far as Sagaing. Chiengmai reverted to the Siamese and so did Tenasserim, while Tavoy hardly attempted to conceal its disloyalty, and Prome, Pegu, and Taung-ngu more and more asserted themselves and made light of Avan supremacy.

As was always the case in these temporary lulls, works of piety occupied the attention of the kings and the chroniclers. Thado Dhammayāza, who succeeded his brother, Mahā Dhammayāza, began the huge up-turned begging bowl pagoda, the Kaunghmudaw, built on the model of so many of the Ceylon pagodas. It was finished by his son Pindalè and is a very conspicuous object on the Irrawaddy River bank, a few miles below Sagaing. In the relic chamber there is, it is claimed, the spurious Buddha's tooth which Buyin Naung got from Ceylon, as well as a golden image of Thado Dhammayāza, made in the pure metal, of his own weight. The Mahā Yāzawin asserts it, but it is not necessarily true.

Events in China did a great deal to prevent more than the eternal parochial squabbling and rebelling in the Burman dominions. The Tartars were overthrowing the Ming dynasty in China, and Burma became mixed up in

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it in a curious way. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Burma sent "presents" to China in 1628, the first year of the reign of the last Ming emperor. The Chinese annalists expressly record that Burma did not again send "tribute" until 1750. Probably this was due to the fact that it was forty years before the Ching dynasty was finally successful in conquering the whole empire, but it may also have been because the Tartars were less business-like and grasping than the Mongols. In any case Burma did not admit the "tribute," though it may have assented to blackmail.

The last Ming emperor committed suicide in 1643, and left a son, Yung Lei, or Yunhli, as the Burmese historian calls him, who proclaimed himself emperor at Nankin, but was very soon driven west into Yün-nan and gave trouble to Burma by claiming tribute from the Shan States west of the Salween River. There was some confused fighting in Hsen-wi and Ghieng Hüng, but, before long, the Manchus came after Yung Lei, who took refuge in Burma Proper, where, through the mediation of the Sawbwa of Bhamo, he and his followers were allowed to settle down at Sagaing.

Wu San-kuei, Satrap of the West, and the Manchu Marshal Aisinga, came with an army by way of Hsipaw, up to the walls of Ava, and Yung Lei and his family were surrendered. The Burmese say that he was taken to Peking and strangled. Mr. E. H. Parker, trusting to Mōng Myen (T'êng-yüeh) annals, says he died of a carbuncle, but that his son was forced to commit suicide in Yün-nan-fu in 1662. A great many of Yung Lei's following were massacred by the Burmese on the plea that they meditated seizing the kingdom. The whole story is very confused, and the Royal Chronicle has the grace to be rather shamefaced over the surrender of the last of the Mings. There certainly were a number of scattered gangs of Ming adherents who

gave trouble because they plundered to support themselves.

This Chinese complication gave Upper Burma quite enough to do, and suggested to the Talaings that it was a good opportunity to reassert themselves. There does not seem to have been much fighting, though the Royal Chronicle says the Chinese were driven out of the country. That probably only means that the Burmese followed in the wake of the retiring Tartars and killed all stragglers, but a Chinese army is about as destructive as a river which has burst its banks. The Chinese estimate of Burmese armies is not flattering: "A slight victory elates them like so many capering animals, while a defeat scatters them to the winds like a thunderbolt, their generals losing all control. Their character is childish and suspicious." *Mutato nomine!*

While the nominal central authority was thus fully occupied, there was promiscuous fighting in the Low Country. Martaban was successively in the hands of the Burmese, the Talaings, and the Siamese. Chiengmai swayed backwards and forwards, and so did Tavoy. The people of Pegu were taxed to the limit of the women's looms and were ready to support anyone who gave them a lead. Since the time of Wayiyu there had always been Shans in Taung-ngu and the country south of it towards Pegu. Some had come of their own accord; some had been settled as prisoners of war, or disbanded soldiery in Buyin Naung's time. These now received an accession in the shape of a body whom the Mahā Yāzawin calls Gwè Shans. The Burman is not an ethnologist. He lumps all non-Buddhist men together as animals, and is not convinced of the orthodoxy of any Buddhists but those of the eastern country and land of the Brahmas. It is not clear who these Gwè Shans were, but it seems most likely that they came from Mōng Kwi, a territory, now non-existent, west of Chieng Hūng. The Kwi are

a branch of the La'hu (called by the Burmese, Mòkso) and, like them, are fine shots with the cross bow, and good sportsmen. The Chinese have, since the British final annexation of Burma, put a definite end to the La'hu State and scattered the race all over the Shan country. Quite possibly, bands of Yung Lei's supporters, miscellaneous brigands, and the pursuing Tartars began driving these Kwi before them.

They have nothing to do with the Shans, but they were neighbours up in the hills, and had probably got to know the Shans very well in their long trek from beyond the Salween to Burma, where there were some at Madaya, north of Mandalay, and some at Pegu. The La'hu chiefs are called *Fu-yè* (Buddhas) and have a form of Buddhism which may have been brought them by Asôka's missionaries, but has been very considerably transmogrified in the centuries.

At any rate there was a Gwè Shan in Pegu, who was said to have been a Buddhist monk, and quite possibly was a *Ta Fu-yè*, who, though he is worshipped, is a very secular sort of a person. He and his fellow-tribesmen united the Shans with them, obtained the support of the Talaings, and this leader was proclaimed King of Pegu with the title of Mingala Buddha Kèthi. The Avan king's uncle, who had been appointed to succeed a murdered Burmese governor, was himself murdered. A force was sent from Ava to avenge him, but had to turn back to meet a Manipuri raid in the Mu Valley direction. The Talaing history vaguely hints that the new king was a son of Pugān Min, who had rebelled against Sinbyushin, one of the futile successors of Mahā Dhammayāza, but this is probably mere window-dressing, though all these royalties were fathers to the people.

At any rate Mingyi Buddha Kèthi married a daughter of the chief of Chiangmai, and so satisfied Court annalists. He is said to have been a popular ruler and a kindly

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man, but the Talaings were very bellicose, and induced him to march against the Burmese. Prome was too strong for them, but they burnt and ravaged all the way to Ava. There, however, they were attacked by the Burmese on two sides, and had to retreat with great loss. Another expedition, to Taung-ngu, was successful in taking the place, but while the Talaings were occupied there, the Governor of Prome made a sudden descent on Syriam and took it. He was soon driven out, but the river-side towns suffered badly, all the more because the Talaings hunted the governor back to Prome and took that town.

The following year, 1746, the Talaings again marched north from Prome, but with no better success. Their losses were so great that they had to retreat. The king, Mintaya Buddha Kèthi, then suddenly abdicated, and went off with his family and a strong guard. This was sufficiently surprising in those days, but no reason is given for it, and it is expressly stated that the people, Talaings, as well as Shans, entreated him to come back; but in vain. He went on to Chiengmai and then to China. All his youth had been passed in the hills, and the flat lands of Pegu possibly wearied him. The Talaings say he was skilled in astrology, and found that his horoscope was unfavourable; he did not want to link it with that of his people.

Among his officers was one known as Pinya Dala, an old Talaing dynastic title. Not much is known of him except that he came to Pegu with elephants from Chiengmai and was made master of the elephants, and gradually imposed himself by his personality. He was consecrated king with the title of Phra Mindi Naradipati, but he is best known as Pinya Dala and, at the consecration, he made a patriotic speech, a sufficiently unusual feature, the main point of which was that the empire of Buyin Naung was to be restored again, and that Talaban was to be general commanding in chief.

For four years there were raids and counter raids, which so alarmed the King of Ava, that he asked for assistance from China. This was not a very wise proceeding, for it confirmed the Chinese in their conviction that Burma was a subject State, and it had no effective results. Two Tartar officers came down with a hundred horse and a thousand foot, but all they did was to advise the Burmese to attack the Gwè Shan settlement at Madaya, where a Talaing raiding party had been forced to take refuge. This the Burmese did with no success, and the Chinese officers went home again; no doubt they took the "tribute" which China had forgotten about since Mongol times, though the Chronicle neglects to mention it, and does not even say with Falstaff "a plague upon such backing." At any rate this was in 1750, and Chinese annals say tribute payments were resumed then.

They had gone when Pinya Dala completed his military arrangements and assembled a fleet of war boats. These preparations included the purchase of arms from the various European factories, by this time established, and the enlistment of a number of renegade Dutch and native-born Portuguese as gunners and harquebus men.

The strength of the army is put at sixty thousand men, and it was under the command of the yuva rāja with Talaban as the real leader. It marched up the Irrawaddy, as far as Malun, and there a wing crossed the river and went up the western side. This was because there were more supplies to be had there. Previous incursions had let the country here alone. There was no opposition and Ava was invested early in 1752 and surrendered after a couple of months' siege. The king was found in his audience hall with all his women-folk round him, and was carried off to Pegu, the last of the long line of the Pagān dynasty. It is difficult to believe that he had the



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spirit to conspire, but it was said that he did, and after two years he was put to death. Ava was given over to the flames. The yuva rāja, who was Pinya Dala's brother, returned to Pegu, and Talaban was left in command in Upper Burma.

CHAPTER IX

ALAUNGPAYĀ

FROM this time on we have the advantage of the prefatory chapter of Captain Michael Symes's account of his *Embassy to Ava* in the year 1795. His embassy was a failure, but he collected a great deal of valuable information from Armenians and others in Rangoon who had been actors or eye-witnesses of the events of this period, and we have something to qualify the biased text of the native histories. Pinya Dala seems to have had a taste for rhetoric. He issued a flamboyant proclamation to "all the nations of the earth" that the Burman country was conquered, and that Pegu was from thenceforth to be the capital of the whole empire and the Talaings its rulers. This was not wise. The Burman is very touchy, "a fiery ettercap, a fractious chiel," and is fain to be vainglorious himself.

All the local officials were ordered to come and swear allegiance to the "Emperor" of Pegu. The majority did, but there was one, at any rate, who not only did not obey, but prepared to resist. This was the man who founded the last Burman dynasty and is known in history as Alaungpayā or, as European authors often write it, Alompra. There is no record of what his "milk name," as the Chinese would call it, or his horoscope name, was, but he early called himself Aungzeya—the Conqueror.

The native historians, as a matter of habit, hint that he was of royal descent, and are persuaded that signs and wonders heralded his birth. Nobody is concerned to deny that in his youth he was a hunter, and therefore,

according to theory, incontestably foredoomed to hell, because of the taking of life. The very name given to his village, Môkso-Bo, means hunter-leader, the Hindustani professional *shikari*, to which we have no equivalent in English. Possibly the village got it by metathesis from the man. Môkso-Bo was a very small place when the future king gave up hunting beasts for hunting the enemies of his country. It is the modern Shwebo, a considerable town as towns go in Burma, and the station of the wing of an English regiment. It is not far from Tabayin, which has the name of producing the most sturdy type of Burman, or at any rate of Burman fighting men, and it is also significant that it was in this neighbourhood that the bulk of the European prisoners, Portuguese and Dutch, had been settled.

Aungzeya, as he was soon to call himself, is usually said to have been headman of Môkso-bo; also he is called a *kye-gaing* that is to say, a hunter of tax-payers, as well as of animals, but it is more likely that he was simply a born leader of men. Noble, not to say vainglorious, and copy-book, sentiments are put into his mouth by his biographers. He was intensely national, and he soon got a following. A Talaing officer with fifty men came into the neighbourhood to collect taxes. They were not over civil about it, and it was an interference with the *kye-gaing's* occupation. Therefore he attacked them and killed them all, and then set about fortifying his village. All country villages are surrounded with stiff fences, of live thorn and dead wattling, as a protection against wild animals and wandering dacoits. These were still more necessary in those old squabbling days, and the new Burman leader saw to the strengthening of them. A punitive expedition was sent against him from Ava, and this he ambuscaded and cut to pieces.

It was now that the hunter-bo took the title of Aungzeya. He called upon all patriots to join him; proclaimed that

all Peguans were to be killed, but that Shans and Burmans, fighting on their side, were to be spared. Pinya Dala's brother, the yuva rāja, who seems to have been a poor creature, despised the efforts of a simple villager, and took this inopportune time to return to Pegu with the great bulk of the Talaing army. Talaban, with an insufficient force, tried to rush the Mōkso-bo stockaded village and failed, and had to retire and stockade himself. Pinya Dala very foolishly recalled Talaban, and sent up the treasurer of Taung-ngu to take command. Aungzeyya sent out proclamations calling upon all Burmans to rise and free their country, and many came, with the result that the hunter-bo's village was converted into a capital, and a palace was built according to the traditional model. He gradually gathered round him an army of about ten thousand men, with a fleet of war boats, while the Peguan detachments, scattered over the country, were being cut up. This was in 1752, and in the following year he marched against Ava. Everywhere the Burmans from the Low Country, from Prome, Taung-ngu, and elsewhere, deserted. No reinforcements came from Pegu. The Burmans in Ava rose in revolt, and the Peguan general evacuated the town and made a hurried retreat.

Phayre says the Conqueror entered the capital. Symes says he merely sent on his second son (afterwards Sin-byushin) to take over the Government. At any rate, Aungzeyya was soon back in Shwebo again and, according to custom, gave it a classical name, Ratanathinga (the Precious Religious Duties). About this time, also, he seems to have put about an ancient prophecy, and took the name of Alaungpayā (Bodisatva, or Embryo Buddha). Phra Alaung was an invariable title of Burmese monarchs. Not only had the Peguans ignominiously fled, but the Gwè Sh:ns of Madaya were attacked and driven out. They had received a son of the deposed king, and this expulsion was a sign of Alaungpayā's ambitions. Burma

had done with the old Pagān line, and he was to found a new dynasty. Shwebo rapidly took the place of Ava as the capital of the country. A new king—a new capital, was for long the Indo-Chinese custom. Meanwhile Alaungpayā determined to settle the north in anticipation of operations to the south. He went up the Irrawaddy with a fleet and an army. The Shan chiefs of Bhamo and Mōng Mit made personal submission and swore allegiance, and the Sawbwas of Mohnyin and Mogaung submitted by letter.

Pinya Dala was effective with proclamations, but not with preparations. He determined to reassert himself at Ava, but he took a year about it. He also made the mistake of again appointing his brother, the yuva rāja, to the command of the fleet and army. Perhaps the delay was due to negotiations with the foreign factories. The Portuguese and Dutch had practically disappeared, except as individual adventurers, and the French had established themselves most strongly at Syiam, while Negrais was the chief British factory. The settlements were thus for trade, but they also meddled in politics. The French were distinct supporters of the Peguans; the British were not so demonstrative, but rather favoured the Būrmans. Both, it would seem, supplied arms and ammunition, secretly of course, to whichever side offered the most money. Dealings of this kind probably account for Pinya Dala's procrastination, but it was fatal, for when the yuva rāja started up-river in January 1756, Alaungpayā had been able to make all necessary preparations, and in the meanwhile the Būrmans of Prome and other towns, where they were in a large majority, had risen and massacred the Peguans, or driven them out. Prome, as usual, was passed by, and does not even seem to have been masked. The yuva rāja's army swept on in the regular inundation fashion of those days, over a country resigned to such inflictions, and reached the

outskirts of Ava without much check. It is, indeed, asserted that Alaungpayā's two elder sons were defeated near Myingyan, and that the eldest, afterwards Naungdawgyi, went to Shwebo to entreat forgiveness, and the second, later Sinbyushin, washed his head in token of grief and humiliation, sacrificed to the spirit of the city, and vowed revenge; but it was probably only a reconnoitring force that was beaten.

In spite of his presumed purchases from the French, the yuva rāja was not able to do more than invest Ava. He had the command of the river there, but Alaungpayā had a strong flotilla at Kyaukmyaung, a port on the Irrawaddy, near Shwebo. The Peguan war boats went up to attack it, with a land force in support. There was an obstinate fight, but Alaungpayā fell upon the shore party and hunted them all the way down to Sagaing. The Pegu flotilla broke away. The future Sinbyushin sallied from inside Ava and the yuva rāja's army turned and ran, with Alaungpayā at its heels, all the way to Sibbyu-gyun.

Pinya Dala now realized that it was not a question of reconquering Ava, but of saving Pegu. At the end of 1754 he assembled another army and went with it himself. The Burmans of the delta, from Danubyu, Lunzé, and other places, fell back on Piome, and the Peguans proceeded to invest it. This was the moment chosen, most unwisely, but vindictively, for the execution not only of the prisoner King of Ava and all his family, mostly women, but of all Burmese prisoners, old and young, male and female. The hapless Mahā Dhammayāza Dhpati, according to the custom with royalties, was put in a sack and drowned in the river. The rest were slaughtered anyhow. Racial hate was therefore quite unnecessarily embittered.

To begin with, the Low Countrymen had the better of it on the river, but the siege progressed slowly, and gave

Alaungpayā time to settle Shan and other troubles in the north, and then to swoop down to take command of the army that had preceded him. Both armies fought as if they were personal enemies. The war-boat men closed on one another with spear, sword, and dagger, and the Burmans gained a victory, but a very expensive one. Talaban, who had now been reappointed what we should call chief of the Staff, had constructed a formidable series of earth-works in the broken country south of the town. The Burmans were at first beaten off, but Alaungpayā imperiously ordered storming at any cost, and his army was more afraid of him than of the enemy. There was again fierce hand-to-hand fighting, but the works were taken, and with them a great store of foreign guns and muskets. The Peguan army was shattered, but the Avans needed some time to reorganize. Prome was stormed about the middle of February, but it was April before Lunzé was taken and the name changed to Myan-aung—"rapid victory." Henzada and Danubyu fell soon after, and by the latter part of the month, Alaungpayā reached Dalla, and the neighbourhood of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. Here, with an admirable eye for country, and a perfect confidence in his final success, he planned out a new city, and called it Yan-gôn—the "war ended." This is the present Rangoon, and it seems to date from the first week in May 1755.

Alaungpayā now came into direct relations with the foreign factories established in Lower Burma, and especially with the English. After de Brito and Gonzales had been disposed of, Portuguese influence in Burma died away, but the memory of their doings and their manners remained, and not only the Burmese, but all the peoples of India-China, lumped Europeans together as very undesirable persons. Nevertheless, in 1619, English and Dutch factories had been allowed to be established, not only in Syriam, but as far north as Bhamo. Dutch doings, how-

ever, led to the expulsion of both groups of merchants, and for a good many years there was little trade except by private individuals, rather than by the East India Company, which at that time was too fully occupied with affairs in India to extend its operations. Nevertheless attempts were made in 1680, and in 1684, to establish factories at Syriam, and in 1686 both Arakan and Burma addressed the Governor of Madras. In the following year, Captain Weldon, "one Weldon" as Symes calls him, was sent from Madras to Mergui, to declare war on Siam. He does not seem to have got there, but he did descend upon Haing-gyi, which is the Burmese name for Negrais Island in the Bassein River. He "destroyed some Siamese huts," which were certainly not Siamese, whatever else they may have been, surveyed the island and annexed it, and the Government of Fort St. George, which should have known better, planted a settlement there. It did very little, but the memory remained. '

An English merchant, Adrian Tilbury, died intestate at Martaban, and the Burmese Governor, according to the ordinary custom of the country, confiscated his estate. At much the same time the *St. Anthony and St. Nicholas*, a ship flying the British flag, though belonging to Bartholomeo Rodrigues, put into a Burmese port for wood and water. It was seized, and the captain and crew were detained as prisoners. In 1695 Messrs. Fleetwood and Sealey were sent by the Governor of Madras to recover the ship and Tilbury's goods, and to get the ship's crew liberated. They went to Ava, and the king released the officers and men, and offered protection for traders and suggested settlement in his dominions, but restored neither ship nor property. This was not encouraging, and no advantage was taken of it, but two years later Mr. Bowyear was sent to negotiate. Before he arrived, the king died, and nothing happened till 1709, when Governor Pitt sent Mr. Alison to Ava, and from this time on British



SACRIFICIAL PLACES IN A WA VILLAGE

traders as well as others, chiefly French, established themselves in Syriam.

Trade seems to have prospered fairly well until the Peguans, under Buddha Kèthi and Pinya Dala, began their attacks on Upper Burma. The various factories were not interfered with; in fact the Talaings asked for help from the British, but got no more than temporizing answers, which so annoyed the Talaings that, when they got possession of Syriam, as Dr. Bayfield says, they "burnt the Company's factory to the ground, which, together with the unsettled state of affairs, occasioned Mr. Smart (the factor) to retire from the country, and thereby, through the misconduct of its agent, the Company forfeited its advantages, present and prospective." It is the way of headquarters to pass judgment, after the event, on the doings of the man on the spot. This was in 1644, but within a few years both the English and the French had re-established their rival factories and, though outwardly they were neutral, in secret they backed opposite sides, as much because of national antagonism, as through intelligent anticipation.

In 1752 the ruler of Tavoy invited Madras to establish a factory, but the terms he proposed were so extravagant that nothing was done there; but a year later, Haing-gyi, the island near Bassein, was occupied, but it did not do well. It was very unhealthy; Hunter, the superintendent, was a man of uncertain temper; "the caffre slaves," who had been brought to cultivate the land, broke out in revolt, seized the boats and went off. Hunter died, but his successor did not succeed in doing much better. The "settlement," in any case, did not exceed a few sheds and storehouses near the river, intended to deal with the timber trade.

After the rout of the Peguans at Prome and the occupation of Myan-aung, the campaign developed into confused fighting all over the delta. Pinya Dala fled first to

Bassein and then by boat, through the creeks, to Pegu. When he left, the garrison left, after they had burnt the rice-godowns and a few houses. The Avan war boats appeared shortly afterwards, and the landing parties marched up to the British factory. A Captain Baker was in charge, and he seems to have behaved with great tact. He was quite unperturbed, and adopted the attitude that the fighting had nothing to do with him, a peaceable trader. All he wanted was safety for his establishment and liberty to carry on his trade. The Burman commander considered this eminently reasonable; moreover, he knew that guns were wanted, so he burnt what remained of the native town and went off to break up scattered Peguan detachments in the maze of the delta creeks. The former Peguan *sikkè*, or governor of Bassein, made an ineffectual attempt to re-establish himself, and Captain Baker continued to look on.

Alaungpayā, or his generals for him, had noted that Burmese war boats were no match for foreign ships mounted with guns; also, he was very much in need of a regular supply of muskets and ammunition. Therefore, from Myan-aung, the former Lunzé, he decided to send a deputation to Mr. Brooke, resident at Negrais, and at that time chief of all the English factories. They came with an Armenian and a Musulman as interpreters, but there were so many scattered parties of Peguans about that Captain Baker advised them to wait farther up the river, and sent a copy of the letter to Negrais. Brooke sent orders to Baker to bring the delegates 'on himself, which he did on the 22nd March, after a four days' journey. The discussion lasted four days, but when they got back to Bassein they found to their dismay that three thousand Peguans, with sixty war boats, had re-occupied the town and captured the Avan boats there. Baker therefore took the party back to Negrais. Within the month, however, Alaungpayā attacked and routed the yuva rāja at

Thingangyun, north of Rangoon, and Bassein was no longer safe for the Peguans, so they evacuated it, and the way was now open for Brooke to supply Alaungpayā with munitions of war.

The yuva rāja and his army fled to Syriam, but not a few, among them the yuva rāja himself, did not stop till they reached Pegu. The Syriam defences do not seem to have been very formidable. Symes describes them as "a feeble rampart, protected by a palisade, and an inconsiderable fosse, almost dry"—the ordinary village protection in fact—and the command was left vaguely to somebody described as a relation of the King of Pegu. The British and French factories in Syriam were, in the nature of things, trade rivals. There had been open war in the Carnatic between the two companies, though France and England were at peace in Europe, and M. Dupleix, the ill-treated great French governor, had been recalled. There was race-feeling as well as the desire to make money, constantly urged on them by the home boards and the natural merchant's habit of speculation. Bournon was the chief resident of the French Company in Burma, while the British chief factor was subordinate to Brooke at Negrais. Brooke had already committed himself to supporting the Burmese, and he ordered the Syriam superintendent to do the same, in spite of the fact that Syriam was in Peguan hands. Bournon evidently had orders from Pondicherry to side with Pegu. It is clear that the Englishman and the Frenchman were watching one another, rather than the combatants. Each of them had supreme contempt for the undisciplined rival forces, and thought it mere chance which of them was going to win in the end.

It is only in this way that the intriguing manoeuvres of the two companies are to be explained, and Alaungpayā, as well as Pinya Dala, had reason to think they were equally treacherous. Bournon sent his ships to anchor in

the stream instead of alongside the Syriam River bank. Then, with a couple of assistants, he went up to Rangoon to interview Alaungpayā, and was well received. He had been there only a couple of days when the officer in command of the ships urged, it is said, by a long-resident missionary, weighed anchor and went back under shelter of the Syriam palisade. Alaungpayā naturally was indignant. Bourno protested he knew nothing about it, and said he would go back to set things right, after an order he had sent to resume station had been disregarded. Alaungpayā allowed him to go, but kept a youth named Lavine as a hostage for his return.

In the meantime, the East India Company's ships, the *Hunter* schooner, a country ship, the *Elizabeth*, and two other vessels, in accordance with Brooke's policy, had anchored in the river near the Burman war boats and early in June they were joined by the *Arcot*, a snow (a brig-rigged vessel) belonging to the Company, with Whitehill, a Company's official, on board. He went on shore, and was received by Alaungpayā with as much show of affability as Bourno had been.

About this time the yuva rāja came down the Pegu River to take command at Syriam, and immediately began clandestine correspondence with Captain Jackson of the *Arcot*. Alaungpayā, meanwhile, had left for the north, where there was threatened trouble with the Gwè and other Shans. As a sailor, Captain Jackson had an utter contempt for the undisciplined mobs which made up the rival armies. Possibly, too, he thought he was a diplomatist as well as a merchant adventurer, and looked upon Whitehill as a mere office clerk. Accordingly he listened amiably to both.

Therefore when the Peguans made an attack on the newly laid out city of Rangoon, the British ships simply lined the decks and looked on. Though they came up with a flood tide, the Peguans were not able to surprise

the Rangoon garrison, and were beaten off by small arm fire. A land attack on the pagoda position was equally unsuccessful. The Burmese commander was naturally annoyed at the want of support he had expected, and complained to Whitehill, who said that it was quite impossible for him to begin hostilities with anybody unless he had direct orders from the Company. Minhla Mingun probably did not believe him, but he knew that Brooke at Negrais had promised cannon and munitions of war, and they were understood to be on their way, under the care of Baker and North. So he had to rest satisfied with Whitehill's assurance that if the Peguans fired on the British ships, it would be good warranty for them to fire back.

The yuva rāja had been in communication with both French and British ships, and a few days later he began another attack, this time by water only. Two French ships came up with two hundred Peguan war boats and an armed snow which they had acquired. The Frenchmen opened fire as soon as they came within range. The Burmans had taken their war boats into the shelter of a creek, with a stretch of jungle and some earth-works as a support. The Peguans closed in and opened a brisk musketry fire, and at the same time the English ships, *Arcot*, *Hunter*, and *Elizabeth*, joined in with their cannon. The Burmans had to leave their boats and retire to their works. Both French and English urged the Syriam boats to cut out the Burman flotilla, but the Burman fire from the jungle was more than the Peguans cared to face and, indeed, killed two seamen in the *Arcot*. The English ships dropped down the river again that night, but the Peguans remained firing for a couple of days, when their ammunition was exhausted, and they also retired.

The yuva rāja now thought that the British as well as the French were committed to his support, and wrote promising a variety of privilèges to Brooke at Negrais.

Brooke returned a non-committal letter, but ordered the British ships to proceed to Negrais. The *Hunter* and *Elizabeth* went accordingly, but the *Arcot* remained behind for repairs. While this was going on, Brooke had sent Captain Baker and Lieutenant North to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance with Alaungpayā. That energetic leader had meanwhile invaded Mogaung, dethroned the Sawbwa, and finally annexed the State to Burma and, moreover, had so punished the Manipuris that the chief submitted and delivered hostages.

Lieutenant North died of fever and dysentery on the boat journey, but Captain Baker reached Kyauk-myaung on the river and received orders to "worship in Shwebo at the golden feet." There Alaungpayā lectured him on British perfidy, talked in 'Ercles vein, scouted the idea of an alliance with the Honourable Company being of any use or value to him, said he would brush Bournò away like a fly, but nevertheless gave permission for the establishment of British factories at Rangoon and Bassein. This was in the latter part of the year, and an army of twenty thousand Shans meanwhile set out for the south, about the time when Baker left for Negrais on the 29th September.

Brooke had finally determined to support Alaungpayā, but the yuva rāja put a party of Talaings on board the *Arcot* and apparently also on the one French ship which remained at Syriam. With these, three hundred war boats, and two private British ships, he made another attack on Rangoon, supported by a land attack ten thousand strong. The Burmans loosed fire-rafts on the shipping; the European ships slipped their cables, and the land attack was beaten off. This was the last chance Syriam had. Alaungpayā came down from Shwebo in February 1756 and immediately established a close investment. The French ship which Bournò had moored close to the factory stranded at low water and the Burmese guns were able to put her out of action. Bournò then

made overtures to Alaungpayā, which came to the ears of the yuva rāja, who had him and all his Staff lodged in the prison inside the fort. The yuva rāja himself escaped from the town, and went up-river to Pegu. Syriam was now doomed, but Alaungpayā did not attempt an assault. The blockade continued till July 1756 when, on a dark, wet night, the Burmans crossed the fosse and took the fort. Most of the Talaing garrison escaped in the darkness, but Bourno and all his Staff were left behind and captured.

Bourno was doubly unfortunate. Two days after Syriam fell there arrived from Pondicherry the *Galatée*, a considerable ship, well manned and armed, and with a large supply of munitions of war sent by Dupleix, the Governor of the French Possessions. The *Galatée* came late, not on account of delayed preparation or bad weather, but because of "a fatal and frequent error of mistaking the mouth of the Sittang River which is a few miles to the eastward, for that of Rangoon." This sounds like shaky navigation, but in July there are plenty of blinding rainstorms off the coast. The captain of the *Galatée* sent a boat up to Syriam for a river pilot, and it was seized by the Burmans. Alaungpayā sent a pilot down in a country boat and forced Bourno to write telling the captain to come up without delay, adding that he would meet the ship's boat on the way to Syriam. The *Galatée* came up unsuspectingly on a strong flood tide, and was immediately boarded and taken. The cargo was discharged, and the ship's papers clearly proved that the war stores were consigned to the yuva rāja and his brother, Pinya Dala, and were intended for the Peguans. This was Bourno's death sentence, and with him were executed the captain and officers of the *Galatée*, the Frenchmen of the Syriam establishment, and most of the seamen. The rest were sent up to add to the miscellaneous collection of foreign prisoners of war at and around Tabayin and Shwebo.

Another French ship, the *Diligent*, was more fortunate,

or less skilfully navigated. It was driven by adverse winds to the Nicobars, and reached the mouth of the Rangoon River six weeks late. The captain either got timely information of the massacre, or was more cautious than his brother officer of the *Galatée*. At any rate he returned to Pondicherry.

The fall of Syriam sealed the fate of Pegu, but Pinya Dala was persuaded by Talaban to stand a siege. The old walls still remained and the moat was intact, though their great extent and the large population were a weakness. Alaungpayā did not move till the rains were over and the wide rice plains were reasonably passable, but in January 1757 the town was invested, stockades were erected, and starvation began. Pegu had no more foreign mercenaries, but the Talaings made frequent plucky sorties. Alaungpayā now preferred to spare the lives of his armies, one of which, composed mainly of Shans, had come down overland through Taung-ngu. After two months Pinya Dala's heart failed him. He summoned a family council, and it was decided to sue for peace. He was to do homage as a tributary of the Burman king, and the offer of the inevitable daughter, the only unmarried one, was made—given away with a pound of tea. Talaban, who is still remembered with pride and affection by the Talaings, was the only one to object, and he offered to sally out with six hundred picked men to raise the siege, but he was overruled. He left the town at midnight with a small party, cut through the Burman lines and made his way to Martaban. The offer was then formally made to Alaungpayā, and he affected to accept it and a truce was declared.

The girl was conducted with bands of music by her uncle, the yuva rāja, to the Burman headquarters, and there was a general passing to and fro between the two lines, but Alaungpayā had no intention of holding by his part of the compact. Parties of armed Burmans concealed themselves in the town with the object of

letting in the main body, but they were discovered and all put to death; and the blockade became closer than ever. There were dissensions in the royal family itself. A relation of Pinya Dala's was discovered to have a secret store of rice, and a mob rushed his house. The yuva rāja had been kept as a hostage in the Burman camp and apparently, through him as an intermediary, the king arranged for the opening of the gates and the surrender of the city, stipulating for nothing but his own life.

The Burmans, therefore, were admitted. There was no resistance inside. Those fled who could get away. The city was given up to plunder and Pinya Dala was sent as a prisoner to Shwebo, after being taken, in Roman triumph fashion, to Rangoon. According to the Talaing Chronicles, thousands of men, women, and children were sold as slaves, and all the principal buildings were destroyed. Pegu now practically ceased to exist. It had been a great name, as Ava was a great name. Pegu, according to the early travellers, had some hundred thousand inhabitants. Now the population is not greatly over fifteen thousand. The Shwe Hmaw-daw pagoda remains, larger than the Shwe Dagôn and hardly less revered, but Golden Pegu has become not much better than a sordid railway junction. It is the residence of a deputy commissioner instead of a King of Kings, but the surrounding rice plain is as fine as any in the world, and has a population of half a million, while Ava, its rival in the old days, is a mere collection of ruins, monasteries, and pagodas, in park land studded with magnificent pipuls and tamarind trees. This is partly because, in the Upper Country, new kings liked new capitals, but also not, improbably, because the people, both Burmans and Talaings, are essentially agricultural and did not care to waste fine paddy land on the walls and ditches which were imperative in those days when they were fighting one another in the intervals of sowing and reaping.

After he had crushed Pegu, Alaungpayā proceeded to reduce the country to the east, and was modest enough for the moment to fix his boundary at the Three Pagodas, on the range which divides the waters that go down to the Gulf of Siam by the Mènam River, from the drainage into the Bay of Bengal. This was perhaps not so much to extend his dominions as to put an end to the menace of Talaban, who was still a power to be reckoned with in Martaban. That former great seaport had, however, no longer any fortifications, and Talaban could muster no force capable of meeting the great Burman army, so he fled to the jungle. His family remained behind and Alaungpayā announced, in the merciless Oriental fashion, that they would all be executed unless he surrendered. Talaban therefore came in voluntarily and bore himself with such dignity that Alaungpayā, with the impulsiveness and imperiousness characteristic of his nationality, not only liberated the prisoners and forgave Talaban himself, but gave him an important post in his own service. Talaban served him loyally, but did not extend his fidelity to his successor.

Alaungpayā, after he had driven the Siamese from Tavoy and Mergui, set out on his return to Shwebo, and on the way received Ensign Lyster, who had been sent from Negrais, on behalf of the East India Company, to negotiate for a settlement. Brooke, the resident during the Syriam siege, had retired, and Captain Howe, who succeeded him, died. Symes says both were "honourable men," which seems to indicate that he had not a high opinion of the next resident, Captain Newton, who, in any case, after little over a year's stay, returned to Bengal to take part in the struggle with the French in the Carnatic over the claims of Mohamed Ali. There is a curious story about a letter from Alaungpayā, written on virgin gold, studded with rubies, addressed to the King of England and handed to a Mr. John Dyer and others in Rangoon,

of which nothing more was ever heard. Lyster was instructed to wait for a person named Antonio, a native descended from a Portuguese family, who figured as the Burmese Government interpreter. He kept Lyster waiting some time in Bassein, then provided him with boats which proved not to be at all satisfactory for the rains, which are persistent at the end of June, and generally seems to have made himself disagreeable. Alaungpayā, whom the party met on the river, gave the ensign an interview on the royal barge, and then ordered him to follow him on to Myan-aung, where there was a second audience the next day. The king was not insolent, as Antonio and the underlings were, but he must have been sufficiently trying to a young man, no doubt proud of his first deputation. On the barge he delivered a lecture on his own incomparable prowess and favoured Lyster with a detailed account of the members of the Peguan royal family whom he had in his train. At Myan-aung he took him very bluntly to task for the support which the British had given to the Talaings, breezily sketched out the terms he was proposed to grant, and referred Lyster to the Burman governor of Bassein and Antonio for the terms of the treaty. In return for the presents which Negrais had sent, according to custom, Lyster received twenty-four heads of Indian corn, eighteen oranges, and five cucumbers, the sort of largess suited to a village headman.

Alaungpayā went on up the river and he or his subordinates took Lyster's bad boat and gave him a worse, which sank during the night. At Bassein, after a good deal of delay, caused by the ensign's belated discovery that nothing could be done without bribery, a specious treaty was signed, in return for a bill on the Company for Rs. 3,500. Dr. Bayfield gives the following main articles: the Island of Negrais to be ceded to the Company in perpetuity; a site extending to four thousand square cubits, or more if required, for a factory at Bassein;

trade to be duty-free ; the Company to deliver one twelve pounder gun and seven hundred and thirty pounds of powder ; an offensive and defensive alliance between Burma and the Company ; and a special clause that the Company was not to aid the King of Tavoy, which seems to have been recognized as independent since 1753. Except from the personal point of view, Lyster's deputation seemed to have been quite satisfactory.

In 1758, after some minor operations in the Shan Hills, at Mōng Mit and farther east, Alaungpayā himself led an expedition against Manipur. There was a good deal of destruction, and Langthobal, which was then the capital, was occupied ; but both chief and inhabitants had fled to the hills. News of an insurrection in Pegu then arrived, and the king immediately gave up the enterprise, after setting up a stone pillar to show that he had taken the country. The success of the Talaings was short-lived. They captured Rangoon and drove the Burman governor west to Henzada, but there the tide turned. Reinforcements came, and before Alaungpayā arrived, Rangoon, Syriam, and Dalla had been re-occupied.

It was reported that the British had incited this rising and that they had supplied the rebels with arms and ammunition. There is no proof of it, and probably the suggestion was made by the Armenians and other aliens hostile to European trade. Unfortunately for him, Whitehill, who had incurred Alaungpayā's displeasure during the siege of Rangoon, came into port at this time and in the same vessel, the *Arcot*, in which he had been when it fired on the Burman flotilla. He and the vessel were seized and carried up to Prome, where he was brought before Alaungpayā. Whitehill did not have the same fate as Bourno, which he probably expected, but his ship and all his goods were confiscated, and he had to pay a heavy ransom before he was allowed to leave in a Dutch ship.

At this time the Company's forces were having a critical time in India, so the establishment at Negrais was reduced to the lowest limit, merely enough to retain the right to possession. Captain Newton, with practically all the troops, were recalled to Bengal. A Mr. Southby was sent as chief of the factory, and arrived at Negrais on the 4th October, 1759, in the snow *Victoria*, battered by a very rough passage, and found the *Shaftesbury* East Indiaman in the anchorage.

Symes represents two Armenians, whom he calls Coga Pochas and Coga Gregory, as most active in their machinations. The latter in particular had attached to himself young Lavine, the Frenchman, whom Bournon had given as a hostage during the Syriam operations. Lavine had become a very bitter Anglophobe and had managed to ingratiate himself with Alaungpayā. Among them these schemers persuaded him that the British were just as furtive and untrustworthy as Bournon had been. The king was chafing over his curtailed campaign in Manipur; the reappearance of Whitehill in the *Arcot* revived memories; someone, possibly private merchants, possibly the Armenian community, had supplied the Talaings with war munitions, and Alaungpayā was always impetuous. He flew into a rage and ordered the complete destruction of Negrais.

The plotters lost no time. Southby landed his baggage from the *Victoria* on the 5th October, and was met on shore by Antonio, the half-breed interpreter, who produced a forged letter from the king. Southby invited him to dinner on the 6th October, and Antonio came, probably with the string of followers considered necessary for every respectable person in the East. As dinner was being served the interpreter left the table and a party of armed Burmans rushed in and murdered Southby and Hope. Two others, Robertson and Briggs, with eight European subordinates were in a room below, and they put up a

fight in a store shed until the afternoon, when they surrendered on the promise that their lives would be spared, but were slaughtered on the way to the boats, where Antonio was waiting for them. Altogether ten Englishmen and nearly a hundred natives of India were massacred, and only a few Europeans were taken prisoners to Rangoon.

A midshipman from the *Shaftesbury*, probably in charge of Southby's baggage, was on shore at the time. He was wounded, but succeeded in getting to the pinnacle and put off to give the news to the East Indiaman. The Burmans, however, led it is supposed by Lavine, seem to have been beforehand with him. They seized the batteries and turned the nine guns in them on the *Shaftesbury*. The firing was so accurate that the Indiaman was holed in nine places, the second officer was killed, and some damage was done to the rigging. But she cleared for action and replied vigorously until nightfall. From what Symes heard, the Burmans suffered rather severely, but since there was no hope of retaking the settlement, the ship moved out of range in the early morning and was followed by Captain Alves in the snow *Victoria*.

Ten days later the *Shaftesbury* left for Calcutta and Alves went to Diamond Harbour for water and ballast, and then returned to Negrais, where he found everything combustible burnt and the bodies of the victims lying unburied. He then sailed for Calcutta, which he reached on the 10th November.

Two months after the Negrais massacre, Alaungpayā went down to Tavoy, which had revolted at the time of the Peguan rising. Tavoy gave little trouble; the Burman governor came out and surrendered, and was put to death, and Mergui and Tenasserim were also reduced. Alaungpayā was convinced that the Siamese had been at the bottom of these troubles, and there were certainly great numbers of Talaing refugees who had fled to Siam for shelter. He made the usual demand for a Siamese

princess as a warranty of friendship. The King of Siam refused his daughter and this was quite pretext enough for a war.

The Siamese were able to do little more than delay the Burmese army and were defeated in a heavy engagement outside Ayuthia. Alaungpayā then set about building stockades to establish a blockade, but these were hardly completed when he fell ill of what the Burmese call *Taung-na*, which appears to be a kind of scrofula. He immediately broke up his camp and retired by the Mènam Valley route, harassed by the Siamese all the way. He turned off at Raheng to Myawadi, but died before he could reach the Salween. He was only forty-six years of age and had reigned no more than seven years, but he had found Burma in desperate straits and had finally established Burman supremacy. Apart from his quickness of temper, he ruled the country well and deserves the esteem in which the Burmese hold him.

CHAPTER X

ALAUNGPAYĀ'S SONS

ALAUNGPAYĀ'S hasty return from Ayuthia was due to the conviction that he was dying and that there was the usual probability of a disputed succession. He had announced that he wished his six sons to follow one another on the throne, and the eldest son, the Sagaing Min, who had the title of éngshémin, Lord of the Eastern House, the heir-apparent, had remained in Shwebo as regent, but the second son, the Myedu prince, as far as military qualities were concerned, the most capable of the family, was with the army in Siam. He seems to have thought of claiming the throne, and even went the length of issuing a proclamation to the troops asserting that Alaungpayā had named him king in a death-bed declaration. The army, however, did not appear to be very enthusiastic, and he made his submission to his brother, who assumed the title of Naungdaw-gyi, the Royal Elder Brother, and set off for Shwebo with their father's dead body.

When the prince left, the command of the army fell to a general variously called Minhla Yaza and Mêng Hkawng Nawratā. He was popular with the troops, but had steadily been on bad terms with Naungdaw-gyi. He weighed the two risks and thought it better to strike for himself than to go on peaceably and be crushed. Accordingly, while the Myedu prince, with the corpse and the guard in charge of it, went up the Irrawaddy, Mêng Hkawng took the overland route. When he reached Taung-ngu, the governor there, a younger brother of

Alaungpayā, tried to arrest him, but the rebel general passed on and seized Ava without opposition. He had not the boats to cross the river to Sagaing where Naungdaw-gyi had sent a force, and he distrusted the king's offer of a free pardon, if he would surrender, so nothing happened till the troops with the Myedu prince arrived. Ava was then invested and it was seven months before it could be taken, for the fortifications were still very formidable. Eventually Mêng Hkawng escaped by night in disguise, but was captured in a jungle village and put to death. His soldiers then surrendered, and are said to have all met the same fate. This was in 1760, and probably this severity was owing to the refusal of the Governor of Taungngu to acknowledge Naungdaw-gyi. He not only refused allegiance but proceeded to go and seize Prome. He also was defeated and carried off prisoner, but apparently was not executed.

These operations were not a favourable preparation for the visit of Captain Alves, formerly of the snow *Victoria*, which had taken Southby on his ill-fated journey to Negrais. He brought letters to the king from Holwell, the Governor of Bengal, and Pigot, Governor of Madras. It is impossible to believe that the Honourable Company was not conscious that there were grounds for the assertion that its agents had supplied the Talaings with arms; otherwise the mild terms of the letters were disconcerting enough to be humiliating. It is true Pigot said he expected that the murderers would be punished, but the chief request was that the English prisoners should be liberated, and that Whitehill's ship and effects should be restored, along with the Company's property. Otherwise the general impression given is that it was feared that the French would capture the Burma trade, or if not they, the Armenians.

Captain Alves's experiences were distasteful enough. He sailed first to Car Nicobar, not to Negrais. From there

he sent a letter to Gregory, the Armenian *akunwun*, or Collector of Customs, at Rangoon, asking his good offices. Then he proceeded to Diamond Harbour, but did not go on to Negrais till Antonio came down to meet him. Alves knew very well that this fractional Portuguese interpreter had been the chief organizer of the massacre, but he received his protestations that he was guiltless with seeming gratification. He went first to Bassein, and then, by invitation of the "Maywun," to Rangoon. The *myowun*, the governor of the lower provinces, was full of fair words, and was at some pains to say that he had always been favourable to English traders, and that Gregory, the Armenian, and Lavine, the Frenchman, were the leading conspirators. Alves found Robertson and the other English prisoners well, and fairly well treated, but the *myowun* insisted on having the presents intended for the king, and sent on to Shwebo to obtain a "royal order" for Alves to "proceed to the Golden Feet." Alves went back to Bassein and was allowed to take Robertson with him. The royal order was brought by Gregory, who interpolated in the translation passages laudatory of himself, which had not occurred to Naungdaw-gyi. In August Alves started for the capital, in the height of the rains, with two Burman officers and Antonio and Gregory as his companions. The country was very disturbed at the time and this, and brief authority, led to perpetual searches of the boat for contraband of war, but eventually he reached Sagaing, where Naungdaw-gyi was engaged in the siege of the rebel general in Ava.

He received a prompt audience, but the character of it was rather galling. The king lectured him in school-master fashion; expressed astonishment at the Madras governor's expectation that the murderers would be punished; said it was the business of soldiers to kill people, and that though it was regrettable that the innocent Mr. Southby should have been murdered the day after

his arrival, it was inevitable in a jungle fire that some of the good plants should perish with the bad. He absolutely refused to give up Whitehill's ship or goods, but agreed that what was left of the Honourable Company's property should be restored, and that the prisoners should be set free. He also gave a grant of land at Bassein, but not at Negrais, where, he said, the settlement would be exposed to the attacks of the French, or other nations with which England might be at war. In return, a regular supply of arms and ammunition was to be furnished, together with what else his Majesty should require. Captain Alves cautiously agreed provisionally to everything, but he had one gratification. Gregory had ventured interpretation and fell under suspicion. There was an inquiry which resulted in a sudden and public degradation. He got off with his life, but it cost him a great deal of money. Alves also found that nothing could be done without repeated bribes to the palace officials and, moreover, he had to attend at the end-of-lent ceremony of swearing fidelity and allegiance to the king. Still he did secure the liberation of the captives, and Robertson and Helass were left in charge of the Company's premises at Bassein. This was at the express desire of the king. He represented that it was desirable to have someone to look after the Company's property, but probably the idea was to have someone handy to whom indents for requirements could be made.

Not improbably there was a brisk trade in arms, for the Talaings were unwilling to admit that they were finally crushed. There was a rising at Sittang and also at Martaban, where Talaban was able to draw recruits from Chiangmai and other places in the Lao States. Neither gave much trouble and were easily suppressed, but the whole country was in a state of unrest. Talaban was captured and according to the Burmese was pardoned, but the Talaing account, which says that he was secretly

murdered, is more likely to be true, for killing came easy in those days.

Naungdaw-gyi moved his capital from Shwebo to Sagaing, not so much because of the infinitely superior picturesqueness of the place, as because its position on the river was a great advantage during the troubled three years of his reign. He died in 1764. Like his father he was aggressively pious, insisted on the greatest possible respect being paid to the *pōngyis*, punished a second conviction for drunkenness with death, forbade the killing of animals to be eaten, and raised slight immoralities to the level of serious crimes.

He was succeeded by his brother, the Myedu prince, who took the title of Sinbyushin, the Lord of the White Elephant. He had seen a good deal of fighting in his father's time and inherited a good deal of his ambition. He began by removing the capital back to Shwebo, but soon shifted it to Ava, which from this time began its period of celebrity.

He had been with Alaungpayā in the unsuccessful attack on Ayuthia, and he determined to renew it. The presence of great numbers of Talaing fugitives in Siam was good enough excuse in those days. He knew, however, that the enterprise was serious, and it was not till 1766 that he began to move. Governors had to be appointed to the various provinces of the kingdom, particularly in the Shan States north of Shwebo. Also he determined to attack from two sides. An army, estimated at twenty thousand men, was assembled at Chiangmai, and another marched to Tavoy, which was captured by the fleet, and set out for Ayuthia from the west. While these preparations were being made, Sinbyushin himself invaded Manipur, got a great deal of plunder in a rapid campaign, and carried off a huge number of prisoners.

Sinbyushin did not lead the armies against Siam. The northern army was commanded by Thihapatè who

began by taking Mōng Lin on the Mèkhong, the Vien-Tian of the French, receiving the submission of the chief, and then came west again to pass the rains at Lakawn. The other army, under Mahā Nawratā, setting out from Mergui, followed the old Suphanburi route. Thihapatè, with a reinforcement of Shans, came down the Mènam Chaopaya from Pitsanalōk, and after defeating a Siamese force proceeded to shut in Ayuthia from the east, while Mahā Nawratā, also successful in an engagement in the open, invested it from the north-west. The Burmans then settled down to their favourite system of blockade, which was nearly defeated by the rising of the river. The siege lasted for over two months. Mahā Nawratā died and the King of Siam offered to become tributary to Burma, but Thihapatè insisted on unconditional surrender, and ordered a general assault. The town was taken. The king escaped in the general confusion, but died a few days later of exposure, and after it had been sacked, the town was entirely destroyed by fire. The queen and the whole of the royal family were carried off prisoners to Burma, and Ayuthia after an existence of over four hundred years, finally ceased to be the capital of Siam. It had fallen opportunely, for Thihapatè had received orders to return immediately to Burma. He appointed a viceroy and marched off. A Siamese officer, said to have been the son of a Chinaman, Phya Taksin, gathered a force round him, defeated the viceroy and proclaimed himself king, but he did not make Ayuthia his capital. Bangkok then, like old Rangoon, was a fishing village, but it had been the site of the old French garrison and it was made the new seat of government.

The trouble which caused the sudden recall of Thihapatè was friction with China. The emperor then was Kienlūng, often called the Grand Monarque of China, and as famous for his ambitions, his wars; and for the length of his reign as Louis XIV. Incidentally, also, his was the great

period of porcelain manufacture. He carried his arms far into Central Asia, but to quote Mr. E. H. Parker "his splendid career had one jaundiced spot in it, and that was the utter failure of his Burmese campaigns, in which he himself admits the loss of twenty thousand men. . . . It cost him several millions sterling and the flower of his generals," but in the end his diplomatic adroitness prevailed, and the result was the "Decennial Mission to China" which gave so much trouble to us on our final annexation of Burma, because of the infatuated preference of Foreign Office officials for musty jargon over manifest facts. Mr. Parker, who is an enthusiastic admirer of China and an indefatigable student of Chinese provincial annals, confesses that "in nearly every instance the Burmese embassies were preceded by bogus embassies, purporting to be from the Emperor of China to the King of Burma, but in reality got up to deceive both the emperor and the king by the Yün-nan officials. The king seems to have been totally unconscious that he was being 'invested' by the emperor, and the emperor himself was evidently hounded by his own officials in his old age."

The ostensible cause of the four Chinese invasions of Burma were petty enough. A Chinese merchant, Lao Li (*Lao* means old and implies that the man is fairly substantial. *Lao-ye* as a form of address corresponds to the French *sieur*—senior, elder-born, the Chinese *hsien shêng*), had come down from T'êng-yüeh (Momien) with a caravan of bullocks. When he got to the Taping River, half-way from the foot of the hills to Bhamo, he wanted to build a bridge, one of the temporary bamboo and wattle structures that can be rapidly set up; but the neighbouring villagers objected, and when the matter was referred to the governor, Lao Li made use of language which was considered disrespectful, so the governor sent him off in custody to the capital. The authorities there, persuaded no doubt by fair words, or pieces of silver, set him free and sent him

back with permission to build his bridge. Lao Li found that some of his bales had been opened and goods taken, and demanded compensation. The Bhamo officials said his own men had been in charge and it must have been they who did the pilfering, so they dismissed the claim summarily. Lao Li went back fuming and complained to the viceroy at Yünnan Chêng, who made a note of the facts.

Much about the same time, there was a similar incident at Kēngtūng, now the largest of the British Shan States. It lies beyond the Salween River, and has always been a central point where Chinese caravan parties could arrange with one another which were to go south to Siam, and which west towards Burma. One of these traders, named Lao Ta-yi, sold a quantity of goods there on credit. There was a dispute about payment and a scuffle, in which a Chinaman was killed. In the absence of the Sawbwa at Shwebo, the Burmese *sikkè* met Lao Ta-yi's demand for the surrender of the culprit with the offer of the blood-bôt, usually three hundred rupees, according to Burmese customary law. Lao Ta-yi refused to take it and went to lodge his complaint at Yünnan Chêng. There happened to be a nephew of the Kēngtūng chief there with a number of followers, who had gone with him when he incurred the displeasure of the Burmese Government. They helped the viceroy to send to Peking a highly coloured report of the misdoings on the Burma frontier.

This was all that Kienlūng wanted. Columns were ordered to march on Bhamo and Mogaung, and in the meantime another Chinese army proceeded to attack Kēngtūng, while later still, another moved on Hsenwi (the Burmese Theinni, and Chinese Mupang). The only intimation of these enterprises seems to have been a notice posted at Ta Law, the ferry village on the Chieng Hūng road, where the frontiers of China and Burma now meet, demanding the surrender of the Kēngtūng man who had killed the Chinaman. As far as Bhamo was concerned

it appears to have been taken for granted that Lao Li's grievance would be made a national question.

The Chinese plan of campaign was very badly mismanaged. It appears to have been assumed that the Siam operations made it impossible for Sinbyushin to offer any effective resistance. Neither the Kēngtūng nor the Mogaung chiefs were well affected to Burma, and the wide track of country over which the operations extended, most of it hilly and with nothing but mountain track paths, also favoured a sudden attack. The people on the Burma side, whether Burmans, Talaings, or Shans, had been doing little else but fight for some generations. The Chinese for their part had had great successes in Turkistan, and the general who had been most prominent there, Mingjwei, was in command of the Hsenwi armies. As far as fighting qualities were concerned there was not much to choose. Both were quite undisciplined, as we count discipline; both were impetuous in victory and utterly rabble-like in defeat; both were utterly merciless when they won and so put desperate courage into the other side, whether they had it naturally or not.

The Chinese utterly muddled the successive invasions. The idea of a pack of dogs round a badger has a superficial appearance of being a certainty, but when there are several badgers in different parishes it proves fallacious. The Chinese marched on Kēngtūng and surrounded the town. An army from the west, probably mostly consisting of Shans, drove them back, and in a fight near the Mèhkong, killed the Chinese general and scattered his forces. The Sawbwa of Kēngtūng, who had sided with the invaders at first, now said he had done so under coercion.

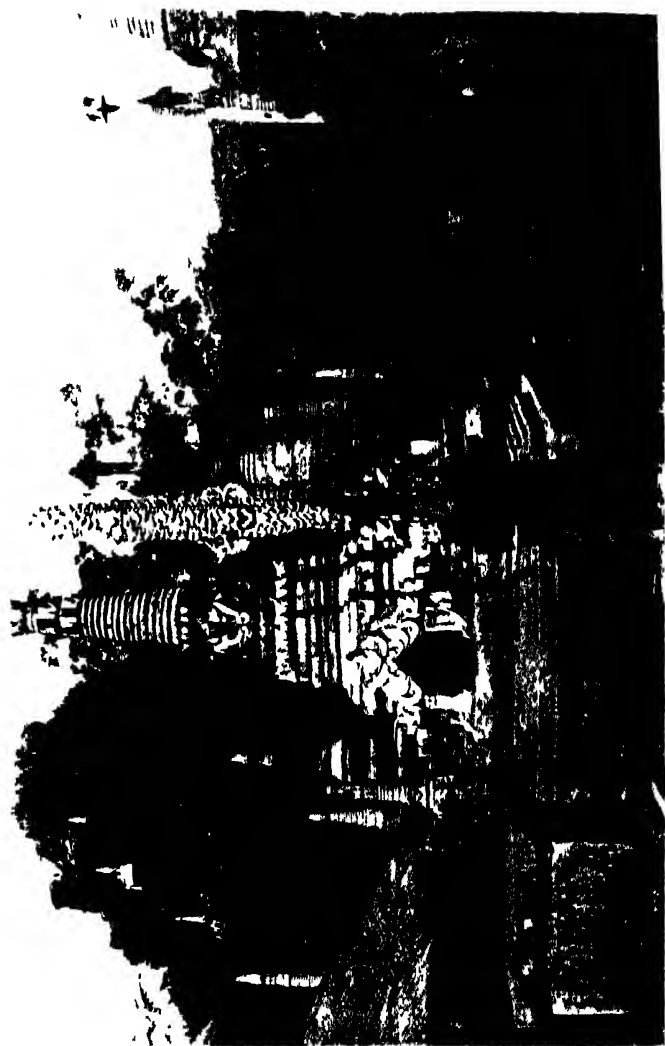
Five hundred miles or so off, the Burmese general got to Mogaung first, out-mancœuvred and ambuscaded the Chinese, and slaughtered droves of them in their attempt to escape by the formidable pass east of Myitkyina. On the Irrawaddy the Chinese coming down from T'êngyüeh

took Bhamo and tried to take the great stockade at Kaungtôn, south of it, and failed. Then they entrenched themselves, but a Burmese force coming from the west captured Bhamo and attacked him in the rear, carried the position and the Chinaman had to fly to the hills towards Mông Wan. Meanwhile, the belated Hsenwi army was attacked from Chieng Hŭng and driven off, probably towards Lungling. This was in 1767. The Burmese generals returned to Ava with great spoil in the form of guns and muskets and prisoners. The last were set to work at their various handicrafts or to cultivate the land and, as Symes tells us were, after the plan of Albuquerque, encouraged to marry Burmese women and had a quarter of the town assigned to them. The Burmese histories assert that the invaders numbered two hundred and fifty thousand men with twenty-five thousand horse. The annalists who put down these figures had obviously never been over the jumble of mountains which had to be crossed before the plains were reached. There is nothing to show who was responsible for the plan of campaign, but if it was Kienlŭng, it is very clear that Sinbyushin was the better strategist. Instead of conquering Burma, Kienlŭng had the aggravation of seeing "the eight Chinese-Shan States" occupied by the Burmese. The occupation was mere plundering and ravaging, but that was galling enough. The States: Ho-hsa, La-hsa, Santa, Mông La, Mông Wan, Mông Ti, Mông Maw and Kêng Ma, still exist separately and are just over our northern border.

Kienlŭng was stubborn as well as arrogant, and he immediately ordered another invasion. It was under the command of Mingjwei, the Myin Hkunya of the Burmese Chronicle, which we should render Duke (*Kung-ye*) Ming. Mingjwei brought a great reputation and he also brought several thousand of his own Manchu troops with him. Diversions, meant to puzzle the Burmese, in the shape of

small columns threatening Bhamo and Mōng Mit, were made, but the main force came by the "Ambassadors' road" over the Kaw ferry on the Sálween, a way into South-West China which we have too much neglected. After passing Ta Kaw, Mingjwei occupied Hsenwi, the most extensive of the northern Shan States, and after building a strong stockade at Lashio, in the low stretch below the present headquarters of the British superintendent, pushed on to Hsipaw and beyond this, to somewhere about the Gōkteik Gorge now spanned by the high railway bridge, met and defeated a Burmese army under Mahā Sithu. From Singaung, in the neighbourhood of Maymyo, where the summer headquarters of the Burma Government now are, on the site of a paltry hamlet called Pyin-u Lwin, he threatened Ava, once more the capital.

Again Burmese tactics beat the Chinese. Immediately after Mahā Sithu had marched up through Hsum Hsai to oppose Mingjwei, another army under Mahā Thihathura made a rapid advance across Lawksawk and South Hsenwi and seized Ta Kaw. It was by this ferry that the Chinese got all their supplies from the fertile States of Mōng Ti, Kēng Ma, and beyond. Not only was food cut off, but most of the mule transport was also captured. Mahā Thihathura then marched west and took Mingjwei in the rear. The Manchu general was held up by the guerilla tactics of Mahā Sithu and moreover his army was famishing. He retreated north through Mōng Lōng and Tawngpeng, and when he was attacked by both Burmese generals, Thihathura having taken the Lashio stockade, the retreat became a rout, and Mingjwei "hanged himself on a friendly tree." The campaign of 1767-8 was more disastrous than that of the year before. Mingjwei was a relation of Kien-lūng through one of the empresses, and before hanging himself cut off and sent his queue to Peking as a token of loyal affection. There was another Manchu general, Ertenge, who had failed to support Mingjwei on the



VILLAGE PAGODAS, LONG HANG

Ambassadors' road and so led to the disaster. Him the emperor had drawn and quartered at Peking, and these two items were all the results of this invasion.

Sinbyushin, not unnaturally, thought that the Chinese menace was over, and proceeded to pious works, the restoration and installation of new *htis*, or umbrellas, on the Shwe Dagôn and the Shwezigôn pagoda at Pagān, which had been greatly damaged by a severe earthquake, but Kienlūng was more bitterly determined than ever, and another invasion began, this time from T'êng-yüeh. The same idea was adopted as in the earlier attack. A large force was detached to operate through Mogaung. Perhaps the attraction was the jade mines, north of that place, or previous experience had taught him that it was impossible to feed so huge a force in the mountainous country. The Chinese army was under three dukes or *kung-ye*, called by the Burmese Sukunyé, Akunyé, and Yônkunye; Sukunyé was no doubt Fuhêng, like Mingjwei, a relation of the empress, and also with a great record in Central Asia. It was he who led the flank approach to Mogaung, from which he proposed to march south on Shwebo. It was practically a repetition of Mingjwei's plan, but Fuhêng never got to Mogaung and did not even cross the Irrawaddy, which he had proposed to bridge in the Myitkyina neighbourhood, with Lao Tari, presumably the merchant of the Kêngtūng incident, as contractor.

The other two generals proposed to take the fortified camp at Kaungtôn. They left Bhamo on their right and, as a precautionary measure, stockaded themselves at Shwényaungbin, twelve miles to the east, and at the foot of the Shan Hills range. The Chinese also had a river flotilla, made up of boats which may have been brought down by the Tāpeng or Shweli River, or may have been seized locally. It did not effect much and the Burmans soon had command of the Irrawaddy. Several vain

attacks were made on Kaungtôn and then Mahā Thihathura came down from the north. The Manchu general, Alikun (the Burmese, Akunyé) was killed in one of the assaults on Kaungtôn, which systematically failed, in spite of the fairly strong artillery force of the Chinamen. A division of Mahā Thihathura's army defeated the attacking army outside Kaungtôn, and threw them back on the Shwénayaungbin stockade, while another corps cut off the supplies by the Tāpeng River. Finally, a general assault on Shwénayaungbin was successful and the Chinese general, Yônkunyé, barely escaped with his life, and fell back on the main force.

Fuhêng now addressed a letter to Mahā Thihathura, saying that the war was altogether a mistake due to the intrigues of the Sawbwas of Hsenwi, Bhamo, Mogaung and Chieng Hūng, and now that he had discovered this he proposed that these chiefs, then in China, should be exchanged for Chinese officers, prisoners in Burmese hands, and that China and Burma should revert to their friendly relations before the fighting began.

Mahā Thihathura held a council of his commanders, who unanimously decided that the Chinese were surrounded "like cows in a pound." They had intended to conquer the country and now they were likely to die of hunger. Mahā Thihathura, however, pointed out that there seemed no end to the resources of a vast empire like China and that the fighting would be interminable. He therefore proposed an armistice and a conference, with the Chinese army commanders.

This was held in a temporary building outside Kaungtôn, and was attended by fourteen Burmese and thirteen Chinese commissioners, and among them they drew up "a written contract of settlement." Peace and friendship were to be re-established; the gold and silver road of commerce was to be once more thrown open; the commissioners were to exchange presents; and finally, every

ten years, letters of friendship were to be exchanged between the two sovereigns. The Burmese troops then escorted, or watched, the Chinese out of the country.

This is the Burmese account. The Chinese is that Kienlŭng had become weary of the enterprise and alarmed at the losses in battle and by disease, so he instructed Fuhêng to retire, after he had informed the Burmese that "out of sheer compassion the emperor had decided not to annihilate them as they deserved." The main point is that there had been a Burmese verbal promise to send a decennial mission of some kind. Immediately after the imperial rescript, according to the Chinese version, a letter came from Mêng Po, as they called Sinbyushin, making unexpected proposals for peace, but in the meantime the Chinese army had retired with such expedition that nothing could be done, and the Peking Court had to satisfy itself with the "contract of settlement."

Sinbyushin, as a matter of fact, had not been consulted, and was furious. He would have nothing to do with the presents from the Chinese commissioners and ordered the families of his generals, including Mahā Thihathura's wife, to remain for three days and nights kneeling at the western gate of the palace, with the presents on their heads. When the commander-in-chief and his corps commanders returned to the capital, they were banished for a month. This was quite lenient treatment when one thinks of the usual methods of the monarchs of Alaungpayā's line.

The whole proceedings were emphatically sketchy and hurried on the part of the Chinese, because Fuhêng knew that he was in an unpleasant position; on the part of Mahā Taihathura because he was a Burman and therefore unbusinesslike, not to say off-hand, so wanting in diplomatic method that he had not even consulted his sovereign. Ava, no doubt, is a long way from Bhamo,

but Peking is very much farther. The agreement which was come to so hastily and in such an informal way, became a regular tangle in a few month's time. Kienlūng persuaded himself that he was going to receive tribute and also that the Chinese officers would be extradited. Neither came. Sinbyushin had probably let off Mahā Thihathura easily because he was led to believe that the sawbwas of Mogaung, Hsenwi, and Bhamo were to be delivered, but there was no sign that he was ever likely to see them. Both monarchs were self-willed and hasty, and they made their protests at the same time. A letter from Kienlūng, in the tremble-and-obey style, crossed one from Sinbyushin demanding an immediate explanation of the delay in handing over the chiefs. It did not occur to either of them that the communications were independent and could not be in the nature of the elements of repartee, and no one thought it advisable, or had the audacity, or the recklessness, to make the suggestion. Consequently the Burmese king accused the emperor of perfidy, and the emperor said nothing but double-dealing was to be expected from barbarians. This exchange of compliments went on for twenty years and outlasted the time of Sinbyushin and Singu Min his successor; but eventually, in 1788, King Bodaw Payā sent back some of the prisoners, with the presents which were the invariable rule in those days. The Chinese, who throughout used the Burmese king's personal names—in the case of Bodaw Payā, Měng Yūn (Burmese Maung Waing), a practice which in a Burman would have been treasonable and in an alien was intended to be contemptuous—the Chinese, of course, call this tribute, and the aged emperor, in his return letter, scattered the words "commands" and "duty" and "tribute" freely all over the document. It is, however, to be noted that this return of prisoners by Burma did not include those of the highest rank, until all Burmese prisoners in China had been extradited. In 1790 a seal of investiture was

clearly sent to the King of Burma from China, but this seems to have been regarded as a decoration and was a preparation for the Burmese mission which in 1795 went to congratulate Kienlŭng on the sixtieth year of his reign. A previous mission had congratulated him on his eightieth birthday, but this was certainly inspired by the Viceroy of Yün-nan, who said it would be a very profitable thing to do. The Chinese formally note that Burma sent tribute in 1795, but since they also record England as a tribute-bearer in both 1793 and 1795, we can understand that Burma did not look upon itself as a vassal State. In 1769, in his first indignation, Kienlŭng had forbidden all trade with Burma, but Chinese traders were just as self-willed as he, for the Burmese Chronicle mentions casually that caravans from Yün-nan began to arrive according to ancient custom, and that the "Great King of Righteousness" was graciously pleased not to interfere with them.

In this same year, 1769, the French applied for and were granted permission to re-establish a factory in Burma, but the East India Company kept them too fully occupied struggling for existence in India to admit of outside enterprises and, in fact, the French never appeared again as traders in Burma.

Although Thihapatè, the Burmese general, had carried off the Siamese royal family prisoners from Ayuthia, Siam was no more subjugated than Burma was by China. Phya Tak, the ex-official who had proclaimed himself king and established himself at Bangkok, not only killed the Burmese governor left behind at Ayuthia, but proceeded to extend his authority over Wying Chan and the other Lao States, including Chiengmai. Therefore, in 1771, Thihapatè was sent off to reconquer Siam, but Phya Tak did not wait for an invasion. He prepared to meet him on the old frontier, where there were many Talaings—fugitives from Pegu. The Peguans in Thihapatè's army also mutinied and there was a rising in Martaban which

was so successful that the Peguans actually marched on Rangoon and attempted to capture it, but were driven off by Burmese forces from Myan-aung and other forces in the delta.

The rebellion was not, however, so formidable as it seemed. At any rate Sinbyushin must have thought so, for he came down in a leisurely royal progress which stretched over three months, and mounted the splendid new golden umbrella crown on the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. It is thought that this was intended to conciliate the conquered Talaings, but if so, any effect it might have had was entirely counteracted by the execution of the aged Peguan king, who had been a prisoner for fourteen years. Sinbyushin brought him down in his train, and the stage farce of a formal trial was gone through. The aged king and his nephew were publicly dispatched by the "spotted man," the common executioner. The attendance of all the Talaing officials in their robes of ceremony was the only thing that distinguished it from the end of an ordinary criminal. This was in 1775, and in the following year Sinbyushin himself died. He fell ill of a low fever on his return journey, developed the same form of "scrofula" which had carried off his father, and the end came not long after he reached Ava. He had the "merit" of his pious dedications on the credit side. The killing, or causing to be killed, many human beings does not come into the balance sheet. It is contrary to the Ten Commandments to take animal life; the slaughter of men is quite a different matter.

The confused fighting and mutiny of the Talaings delayed and ruined Thihapatè's plans in the Siam invasion. He was ordered by Sinbyushin to go on, and he got the length of taking Pitsanulôk and Sukhotai, but there Phya Tak defeated him. The Mahā Yāzawin demurely says that he retired on hearing of the death of Sinbyushin. In any case the taking of Bangkok would have been a

much more difficult task than the taking of Ayuthia. The net work of *klongs*, the canals which induce the complimentary to call Bangkok the Eastern Venice, would have made warlike operations, with the appliances of those days, a nearly hopeless undertaking.

Sinbyushin had not been content with the wars with China and Siam on his hands. The call "to the west" was a fatal attraction to the Alaungpayā dynasty. Manipur was worth plundering. Alaungpayā overran it in 1755. Sinbyushin repeated the raid in 1765 and, nine years after that, sent an army under three generals to get more booty and put in a puppet king. It was not long before he was turned out, and in this third invasion, Jai Singh, the real ruler, put up a stubborn fight at a village called Ampatalla, fourteen miles from his capital. The battle lasted three days, but the Burmese were successful again, and one of the generals pursued Jai Singh into Cachar. The raja took to the hills and got the support of the chief of Jyntia. Aungda-bo the Burmese general, pursued him into the tangle of mountains and lost most of his men. Another of the Burmese generals then appeared and did so much damage and advanced so cautiously that, when he was two days' march from Khasiapur, Chawal, the Cachar raja submitted, handed over the usual royal virgin, together with "a tree with the roots bound in their native clay," as a guarantee that his person and land were at the disposal of the Burman monarch.

This was a direct threat to the East India Company. In 1762 a treaty had been made with the Raja of Manipur promising the aid of British troops whenever he should attempt to recover the territories Alaungpayā had taken from him, and in return he promised lands for a fort and a factory. The India Council was resentful at the failure of Captain Alves' mission to Ava in 1760, and in 1763 troops were actually assembled in Chittagong to help the raja, but heavy rains prevented the march of the sepoys,

and nothing was done. There was critical times in India then in the struggle between the French and the English. Sinbyushin's invasion of 1765 was possibly caused by news of the proposed campaign of the raja, who in the meantime had died. However that may be, no British help came at that time to Jai Singh, his successor, and with Jai Singh the Company's government had no negotiations.

The last campaign, in which Jai Singh was driven from his country, seemed to prove that aid from India was not to be looked for. The Burmese incursions were in the nature of burglary, or gang robbery, or old-fashioned border raids, but the tree with the clod of earth at the foot of it gave, to the Burmese mind, a claim to suzerainty over the country. The challenge to Great Britain had begun ; it was soon to develop into defiance and war.

Sinbyushin was succeeded by his eldest son, Singu Min, or Singu-sa, which simply means the "cater" of Singu, a town on the Irrawaddy below Ava. His first act was to recall the army from Siam, which was a work of supererogation. It would hardly be unkind to say that it was being driven out, coupled with the recorded fact that the general, Mahā Thihathura, was cashiered. Singu Min was not an estimable king. He drank and had the unpleasant habit of all the Alaungpayā line, of putting his relations to death, in the intervals of issuing edicts that the life of animals was to be strictly respected. His uncle, Alaungpayā's fourth son, was one of the first victims, and then his own younger brother. In a fit of passion he also caused a favourite queen of his own to be drowned. There were no wars, and he contracted the habit of paying sudden and unannounced visits to distant pagodas. This came to be well known, and at the same time it was realized that he was an undesirable person. Consequently, a palace conspiracy was organized and after he had reigned six years, a cabal, under the young prince Maung Maung, seized on the palace. Maung Maung's age is not given,



THE BRIDGE AT MONG JEM

but he cannot have been more than twenty, if that, for he was a mere child when his father, Naungdaw-gyi died fifteen years before. In any case he was only a symbol or label, and he reigned no more than six days. There are two stories of the end of Singu Min. According to one, he was at Sabènago at the time of the plot. He was deserted by his retinue and sent a prisoner to the capital, and there burnt to death with all his household. According to the other, he crossed the river from Sagaing in a small boat and went all alone to the palace gates. There he gave his name as "Singu Min, lawful possessor of this palace." The sentry let him in, but he was met by the father of the queen he had drowned, and was promptly cut down. If the latter story is not true, he is denied the one creditable thing that is known about him.

When Alaungpayā died, he expressed a desire that his six sons should succeed him, in regular order, as occasion rose. If this had been done, the fourth son, "the Lord of Amiens" as Father Sangermano calls him, ought to have succeeded Sinbyushin, but Singu Min disposed of him in the orthodox way by putting him in a red sack and throwing him into the Irrawaddy. He would have been better advised if he had done this with the fifth son also, but the Badôn Min, as he was then called, was a crafty person, and kept out of the way; but not too far, for he seems to have lived nearly continuously at Sagaing. It seems more than probable that it was he who suggested the plot which put Maung Maung on the throne. It is practically certain that he engineered the immediate overthrow of that unlucky young man. Maung Maung, as the son of Naungdaw-gyi, the eldest of the Alaungpayā family, had a better right to the throne than Singu Min. But he was only about twelve when Sinbyushin died, so as a measure of joint safety, to save him from Singu, and Singu from him, he was put in a monastery. As soon as he was appointed king, Badôn

Min went on to the second step in his plan. He first of all pointed out the extreme impropriety of the manner of Singu's death. It is sacrilege to take royal blood, and the Atwinwun, father of the queen whom Singu had caused to be drowned, had not only cut the king down, as if he were an ordinary person, but had done it in the palace itself. Then he said, and caused the Ministers of State to say, that Maung Maung might be able to say his prayers, but was not fit for much else. Then he crossed from Sagaing to Ava and found that, as arranged, Maung Maung was under arrest. Thereupon, in strictly correct fashion, he had the hapless young man put in a red velvet bag, fixed between two weighted jars, and sunk him in the Irrawaddy. The length of Maung Maung's reign is variously stated. Symes says it was eleven days; others say six.

This "putting away," as it was discreetly called in Court circles, is perhaps not altogether infectious, but it makes some emulous and others uncomfortable. A wild attack was made on the palace by a band of desperadoes in the dead of night. They seized the guns and powder, but could not find the shot, and when daylight came the palace guard found that there were less than a hundred of them and promptly killed the whole party. Another rising chose as its ostensible head Myat Pôn, said to have been a descendant of the last king of Burma before the Alaungpayā dynasty. This also failed, though, it is said, Badôn Min only escaped because he happened to be in the women's apartments. The king not only had the actual attackers put to death, but destroyed the villages from which they came—killed every soul, old and young, man and woman, and ploughed up the site in Scriptural fashion. It is said by some that the general, Mahā Thiha-thura, was implicated and paid the penalty, but the Mahā Yāzawin slurs over these troubles as being immaterial, since Badôn Min later became so noted under the title

of Mintayagyi, the Great Lord of Righteousness. It is, however, caustic about the Peguans, who were insolent enough to think the time opportune for another rebellion, headed by a fanatical fisherman. His five hundred followers, and a good many others, were ruthlessly exterminated.

CHAPTER XI

MINTAYAGYI: BODAW PAYĀ

THE Badôn prince, from the British point of view, is especially noted because it was in his time that the clashes with the Indian Empire began which ended in the extinction of the Burmese kingdom. Among the Burmese he is called more often Mintayagyi, "The Great King," rather than Bodaw Payā, the title usually given to him by foreigners, which means, simply, the Royal Grandfather. The name Mintayagyi is given him not so much because he was a great warrior like Anawrat'ā or Alaungpayā, or even his brother, Sinbyushin, as because he finally annexed A'akan, and especially because he ordered the compilation of the Burmese Doomsday Book, a complete register of every village in the kingdom, with the number of families in each and the amount of taxes to be paid, together with the boundaries of villages, townships, and provinces. This was repeated in later reigns, but it is still referred to by long-settled communities proud of their comparative antiquity. It was carried out simultaneously by officials in every part of the kingdom, and Bodaw Payā was so very arbitrary a person that the census was quite thorough, and it proved to be very useful to us when Burma was finally annexed in 1886. Bodaw Payā's object was to collect money, and he got it. The payments were called benevolences for religious purposes, the restoring, gilding, and extension of royal foundations throughout the kingdom; but a good deal of the money certainly went in

other ways. Still he himself had a firm belief in his piety, and in his later years meddled with religion and persuaded himself that he was an embryo Buddha. As Father Sangermano, the Barnabite missionary, who was in Burma during the greater part of his reign, says: "A few years since he thought to make himself a god." A very great many of his doings proved that he was mistaken as to his fitness for the position.

Practically his first act, after he had got rid of those whose influence or position he considered dangerous, was to decide on the removal of the capital from Ava to a new site, a few miles farther up the Irrawaddy, which he called Amarapura, the City of the Immortals. His main point was that Ava had been polluted by the royal blood that had been shed there, and when he suggested this to the astrologers they made haste to agree with him. The new capital was therefore formally consecrated on the 10th May, 1783, and Bodaw Payā then went back to Ava to see that the removal was made, and he was so energetic that it was effected by the fourteenth of the next month. As Father Sangermano says: "Thus were these miserable inhabitants compelled to quit their home with all its comforts, and exchange a delightful situation, salubrious in its air and its waters, for a spot infected with fevers and other complaints, from the stagnant waters that surround it. Badonsachen gave to his new metropolis the name of Amarapura, that is, City of Security and Peace. Of the new inhabitants some took up their abode within the walls, and these were for the most part Burmese and persons attached to the royal family, or to the mandarins; to these were allotted dwellings without the city, whence arose various suburbs, or, as they are called by the Portuguese, *campos*. Besides the Burmese, the principal foreign nations who occupy special districts are the Siamese and Cassè (Manipuris), who were brought captives to this country in the wars

of Zempiucien, and have greatly multiplied in number. Perhaps more populous is the suburb of the Mahomedan Moors, who have settled in the Burmese capital as in every other part of India. Their profession is mostly traffic, and they enjoy the free exercise of their religion, having many mosques. To these must be added the suburb of the Chinese, whose industry is peculiarly remarkable, and that wherein the Christians dwell (these were descendants of the Portuguese and other foreign prisoners of war). The entire number of the inhabitants of Amarapura amounts to about 200,000." Bodaw Payā was very thorough. He gave "general permission to overthrow at will the superb Bao, or convents of Talapoins, some of which were gilt all over, within and without, with the finest gold, the magnificent wooden bridges, the public halls and porticoes. All the coco-trees which, planted along the interior of the walls, overtopped them with their green shadowy branches and gave the city a cheerful and sweet prospect, were cut down and given to the elephants for food. In fine, part of the walls was torn down by order of the king, and the river, being sluiced in, reduced the whole to an uninhabitable pool." A town site, even when the houses are mere bamboo or timber erections, is no doubt a sorry spectacle when it is dismantled, but nature has restored it, and old Ava is now quite as picturesque with its park-like vistas as the view from it is of Sagaing on the other side of the river. Widespreading banyan trees and venerable pipuls take the place of immemorial elms, and tufted bamboo clumps are at least as graceful as birchès, and serve as a setting and a screen to spacious monasteries, no longer gilded, and to crumbling masses of brick.

There were still two younger sons of Alaungpayā living, and when Bodaw Payā took the opportunity of the consecration of the new capital to nominate his own son *ênghémin*, heir-apparent to the throne, one of

these, whom Sangermano calls Pandelisachen, Prince of Pindaya, was indiscreet enough to refer bitterly to Mintayagyi's own remarks when he was supplanted by Singu Min. The sneer was emphasized by a contemptuous reference to the marriage of the young prince to a daughter of the chief queen, he himself being a son of the second. To our ideas the marriage with a half-sister would have been shocking; in Burmese royal minds it merely meant that the heir-apparent's claims needed bolstering up. Mintayagyi was not the man to stand it. In the intervals of prayer during the consecration of the new palace he had his impudent brother put in a sack and flung into the Irrawaddy. The other brother held his tongue, and as the Barnabite Father says: "Was still alive when I left the country, and led an obscure and miserable life, supported by the labour of his hands."

When the king had thus settled home matters he determined to annex Arakan. The state of affairs there had been for some time absolutely chaotic. Ruler had succeeded ruler, and the country at large followed this example, and village proceeded to attack village and to slaughter one another with persistent industry. For not a few years deputations of the more responsible people, who wanted peace or revenge, had crossed the Yoma Range to ask for Burmese intervention. Singu Min paid no attention to them; he preferred drinking to military glory, and, moreover, was convinced that his uncle, the Badôn Min, would seize the opportunity to make trouble if he were to go to the wars.

Bodaw Payâ had no sooner become king than the son of one of the murdered rulers of Arakan invited him to take the country. He made a note of it, for he had the family lust for extending his dominions, but for over two years he was occupied in making his own position secure, and in suppressing the risings referred to above. Preparations were, however, steadily made, and in 1784

three divisions marched against Arakan by land, and a flotilla of war boats was concentrated at Bassein to attack by sea. The êngshémin was in chief command, and three of his brothers, two of them mere boys, were at the head of the other columns. The resistance of the Arakanese was futile. The Arakanese ships were sea-going vessels and considerably the larger, but the Burmese war boats were far more numerous, and they made a speedy end of the defending fleet. The Crown Prince crossed leisurely by the Taungup Pass, and was out-marched by the force under the Prince of Prome, who attacked without delay and utterly routed the Arakanese king, who had assumed the arrogant style of Mahā Thamada. He fled, but was soon captured, and the conquest of Arakan was at an end.

Everything that was portable in the way of plunder was of course carried off, but the chief glory was the twelve-foot high image of the Buddha Gaudama, believed to have been cast during his lifetime. This was carried over the hills and installed with great ceremony in the Mahā Myat Muni temple, north of Amarapura, and between it and Mandalay. There was also a monster cannon, nearly thirty feet long, which also was considered to add not a little to the triumph. The success of his sons, accomplished in a few months, tempted Bodaw Payā to enter on the rôle of conqueror himself. At a royal audience he announced his intention of subduing Siam, invading China, and making it his tributary, and then annexing Eastern Bengal and as much more of India as seemed convenient; he, in fact, proposed to make himself undisputed master of the whole of Zampudipa, the Southern Island.

Early in 1785 he began by sending a force by sea to Puket, better known as Junk Ceylon, with the idea of securing the whole eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, and with it the not inconsiderable trade. It was probably

a surprise attack, and was at first successful, but in a few weeks the Siamese received reinforcements and drove the Burmans back to Mergui. The redoubtable Phya Tak had been dethroned and murdered in the few years since the repulse of Mahā Thihathura. He had, like not a few of the successful soldier kings of that period, deluded himself into the belief that he was a Buddha, or at least an embryo Buddha, and had behaved so extravagantly that his people were convinced he was nothing of the kind, and made an end of him. He was succeeded by one of his own generals, who had distinguished himself in the expulsion of the Burmese from Ayuthia. This was Phya Chakkri, who took the title of Budayot Fa when he became king. No tribute had been paid to Burma, and this was the pretext for the invasion. The Puket raid was probably intended to prevent the import of arms, and the real campaign began after the close of the rains in 1785. Contingents were assembled from Mogaung, the Shan States, and every part of the kingdom, and the total strength was placed at a hundred thousand men. Half of these started from Martaban under the leadership of Bodaw Payā himself. There was another force at Chiengmai, and a still stronger body marched from Tavoy to attack the Siamese in flank.

Transport and commissariat arrangements quite soon proved to be very unsatisfactory, and Bodaw Payā, in a rage, had Min Hkaung Gyo, the general in command of the Tavoy army, brought to his headquarters on the Three Pagodas route in chains, and there he was promptly executed. Instead of putting courage into the others, this disconcerted them. At any rate King Budayot Fa, who is the founder of the present Siamese royal line, practically annihilated the Tavoy force, and then proceeded to attack the main Burmese army, under Bodaw Payā. He did so to such purpose that the king became alarmed for his own safety, and hastily made his way

back to Martaban, leaving his troops to get clear as best they might.

The Siamese then proceeded to attack Tavoy and Mergui, and there was a great deal of confused fighting, during which the Burmese commandeered, among others, several English ships, whose captains vigorously protested to Lord Cornwallis and the Supreme Council, and thus there was new cause of clashing between Burma and India. Aimless fighting went on for several years, until in 1793 peace was concluded with Siam. The terms were very favourable to Burma. Siam finally renounced all claim to Tavoy and Mergui, giving up the entire Tenasserim coast. This may be said to have ended the century-long struggle between the two countries. There were, indeed, local collisions at Chiangmai, the Island of Puket, and in the Trans-Salween State of Kēngtūng, but they never got beyond quite restricted affrays, settled by the communities concerned.

Burma was lucky, for if the Siamese had followed up the rout of Bodaw Payā's armies, they might well have overrun a great part of the Irrawaddy Valley, possibly as far as the City of the Immortals itself, at any rate until the momentum of the wave had spent itself. Another piece of good luck was the arrival of an embassy from China. The letter accompanying it had so much the appearance of reasonable civility that Bodaw Payā determined to forget the audience hall rant, and instead of proceeding to make the emperor his tributary, sent an envoy with a friendly letter full of ordinary diplomatic commonplaces. China had given up the barrack-yard sergeant manner, and Burma no longer thought it necessary to say: I bite my thumb at you.

There followed the usual alternative. When Burmese kings were not marching forth to war, they set to work on pious foundations. Bodaw Payā began building the Mingôn pagoda a little above Sagaing, and nearly opposite



A CHINESE COLONEL GOING OUT TO WAR

Amarapura. This still exists as the hugest mass of brickwork in the world, though it is only a third of the height that was planned. It occupied thousands of his subjects carrying and laying bricks for many years. Captain Cox, in the account of his mission, gives details of the articles deposited in the relic chambers at the bottom. These act as a corrective to the list given in the Mahā Yāzawin. The royal annals wax enthusiastic about the images of solid gold and caskets full of precious stones. Captain Cox, who had to take off his shoes on approaching it, saw "several piles of bricks, slabs of coloured glass, and white chattahs, such as are used by the royal family; and, lastly, one of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air." His interpreter saw the contents of several gilt metal, flat caskets: "In them were several coloured stones, none above ten or fifteen carats weight, set in gilt foil." This compares badly with the list of 1,599 gold offerings, 2,534 in silver, and 36,947 in other materials given in the Mahā Yāzawin, including thirty figures in gold of kings, from Sekyawadi onwards, figures of saints, ogres, Brahmas, spirits, men, hunters, dragons, lions; gold umbrellas set with jewels; emerald and sapphire images; images of the twenty-seven Buddhas from Taningaya to Kathapa; plans of the city, the Nerbudda River, and pagodas of gold, silver, glass, ivory, and other materials, and so on. Captain Cox noted that the roof of the chambers was of lead, with leaden pillars to support it, and thought these could not support the weight of the building material. The earthquake of 1839 no doubt helped, but the huge mass certainly is rent to its foundation. Bodaw Payā spent twenty years piling up the monstrous mass, and latterly held several conferences with learned monks, as Father Sangermano says, "to persuade them that the five thousand years assigned for the observance of the law of Gautama were elapsed, and that he

himself was the god who was to appear after that period and to abolish the ancient law in substituting his own. But to his great mortification many of the Talapoins undertook to demonstrate the contrary." This was distinctly bold of the monks, and apparently disillusioned the king about the pagoda. At any rate he slacked off the building, went back to his palace, and added a princess from Assam to the other ladies of the western quarter.

The conquest of Arakan had seemed natural and inevitable. It united the oldest branch of the Burman race with the main body, and it rounded off the kingdom, but it was destined to lead to its destruction. The overthrow of the last king and his army was sudden and emphatic, but the country was flooded with guerilla bands. The Burman is not a magnanimous victor, and the oppressions and exactions of the Burmese officers who were engaged in pacifying the country added steadily to the numbers of those in revolt. The numerous islands all the way up to the Sunderbunds were full of bands of pirates, who ever since the time of Gonzales, the Portuguese, had infested these waters, and these now found plenty of recruits from ruined villagers. Many thousands also were carried off prisoners to work on the building of the Mingôn pagoda, and very many more fled across the Nāf River to take refuge in British territory. They were not content to stay there, but made raids into Arakan, and carried off cattle and what else they could, to sell in Chittagong, and the sea-rovers took their plunder there for the same purpose. The Nāf River runs through a dense jungle-covered country, with only a very few villages, and these not at all unwilling to take up raiding instead of elephant-hunting. It would not have been easy for the Bengal Government to put a stop to these doings, but no application was made. Bodaw Payā simply ordered one of the generals, Nanda Kyaw Zaw,

to cross the river and arrest three notorious leaders. This he proceeded to do with a force of five thousand men, and after he had stockaded himself, he intimated to the British authorities that he was going to stay there till the three men wanted were handed over to him. The magistrate at Chittagong, which is a considerable distance from the river, had no force at his disposal, and referred the matter to the Supreme Council. The Governor-General, Sir John Shore, sent him orders to apprehend the three men wanted, and at the same time General Erskine, with a battalion of European troops and artillery, was dispatched by sea, while sepoy marched by land. The two generals met, and when Erskine had satisfied himself that the three men, whom the Chittagong magistrate had arrested, really were marauders, he handed them over, and Nanda Kyaw Zaw retired across the river again.

The incident has been differently regarded by various writers. Phayre, in his *History of Burma*, calls the three delinquents, two of whom were executed, patriots, and this is the view also of Wilson, the historian of the First Burmese War, and of Bayfield, Assistant Resident at Amarapura. Symes, in his *Embassy to Ava*, on the contrary, considers that Erskine acted wisely, justly, and prudently. Whatever provocation there was at any rate came from the Burma side.

A direct result was the dispatch of Captain Michael Symes as envoy to the King of Burma. The purpose of the mission from Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, was to "cement still more strongly the bonds of friendship" which were supposed to exist, and especially to prevent the French from re-establishing themselves in Burma. This latter purpose was certainly effected, mainly because the French were too harried in India to have the opportunity for outside adventures, but the outcome of the mission was anything but satis-

factory. Captain Symes was very naturally quite ignorant of Burmese customs, and as soon as this was realized, Burmese officials and Armenian, Indian and gallimaufry nondescripts, who acted as clerks, or interpreters, took an impish delight in playing on his courtesy and good temper.

On his way he called for a few days at the Andamans, and reached Rangoon on the 20th March, 1795, having left Calcutta just a month before. At a point four miles inside the mouth of the river, which may be taken to be Elephant Point, his ship, the *Sea-Horse*, an armed cruiser belonging to the East India Company, was boarded by "a mean-looking man, in a shabby cotton jacket, and a piece of faded silk," who, speaking in broken Portuguese, took down the name of the ship, whence she came, what arms and ammunition were on board, and the name of the commander, very much as a policeman might record the details of a street accident. Then he ordered the captain to cast anchor till a pilot could be got. The second officer, however, had been up to Rangoon in the ship's boat and brought back one with him, whereupon the longshoreman left as unceremoniously as he had come. Twelve miles below Rangoon they were hailed in Hindustani by a man in a small boat, who ordered them to anchor till the Governor of Rangoon could come to receive them. A flotilla of dug-outs came about noon the following day, with peacocks' feathers and yak tails displayed in the stern, and three officials of subordinate rank, the Governor of Dalla, a *na-hkan* (literally a listener), a sort of chamberlain's assistant, and a *sayé* (a clerk) boarded them and "took possession of chairs without waiting for any invitation." They stayed for an hour and asked a great many questions, and were answered in friendly but general terms. Then the war boats escorted the *Sea-Horse* to the town, with a great display of fancy paddling. The *Princess Royal*, East Indiaman, saluted

the Company's flag, and the *Sea-Horse* saluted the battery on shore with eleven guns, which were returned.

It was then requested that nobody should land until a habitation was finished on shore, and this was not ready till five o'clock the next day. It was a bamboo shed, with cane mats and a bamboo grating floor, and about ninety feet long, with small carpets in one of the compartments. There was, however, a band which played "very discordant music," and a bevy of dancing girls. The mission decided that they would be more comfortable on board for that night, and meanwhile Captain Thomas, of the *Sea-Horse*, had learnt that orders had come from the Burmese that no communication was to be carried on with the various merchant ships then in the port.

This went on for over a week. An Armenian, called Baba Sheen, who held the post of *akunwun*, or Customs officer, came on the third day, and eventually, after prolonged talk, persuaded Symes to allow him to send the governor-general's letter to the king up to the "viceroy" at Pegu by a special messenger, instead of by the hands of Mr. Wood, the secretary to the mission.

Food supplies were sent every day to convey the idea that the party was dependent on Burmese bounty. A "sentry" was posted on board the *Sea-Horse*. No one was allowed to board the ship, and when anyone went ashore a guard accompanied him in the boat. Symes and Dr. Buchanan, when they landed for a walk, were dogged by "centinels." On the sixth day Baba Sheen announced that the governor-general's letter had been delivered to the "viceroy," and that he had sent back a verbal reply that he would be glad to see the English gentlemen at Pegu. The same day the *ye-wun*, the Governor of Rangoon, came to call. He proved to be the General Nanda Kyaw Zaw, who had made the Naf River incur-sion. He praised General Erskine's moderation and good sense, and hinted that it was fortunate he had not been

unreasonable over the surrender of the wanted men. The presents intended for the king were shown at his request. They do not sound very imposing: "Several pieces of gold, silver, and plain muslin, three pieces of broadcloth, a piece of velvet, and one of flowered satin, a high-finished fowling-piece, a corabah of Persian rose-water, specimens of cut glass, and some smaller articles." The list rather suggests the trader and the savage. The *ye-wun*, however, greatly admired some blue cloth, and Symes sent him a piece of it, but it was returned. From the Burman, though not from the Indian, point of view this was a deliberate insult.

When a week had gone by Symes's patience wore thin, and he had a meeting with the *ye-wun* and Baba Sheen, with the *na-hkan* to take notes, and a numerous rabblement of followers to listen. Symes very plainly gave them to understand that he was wholly dissatisfied, and said that unless all personal restraint were removed and Mr. Wood, his assistant, escorted to, Pegu, there, either himself to get a verbal reply from the "viceroy," or to bring an official letter, he would leave Rangoon and return to India. The Burmans talked for three hours, and then gave in on all points. Mr. Wood accordingly set out for Pegu on the 29th March, but before he could return Symes yielded to the persuasion of Baba Sheen and agreed to go to Pegu himself. It was represented to him that the day of the full moon was the annual festival of the Shwe Hmawdaw pagoda there, and that the "viceroy" was anxious that the English mission party, should see it. Accordingly he left on the last day of the month, and reached Pegu on the 1st April.

Here again the Burmese attitude was distinctly, discourteous. The house provided was better than the Rangoon bamboo shed, but though Baba Sheen met the envoy on the river-bank, the governor merely sent round two officials to ask if anything was wanted. Next day

ponies were provided for Symes, Wood, and Buchanan. They had to halt while the *myowun's* guard passed to the pagoda, and the governor himself went by on his elephant, without looking at them, "as they had not been properly introduced." Throughout, in fact, they were treated as rather better-class shopkeepers.

Early next morning the "viceroy, or *maywun*," as Symes calls him, sent round to say he hoped to see the English party at "Government House." They rode there, guided by Baba Sheen, pulled off their shoes at the bottom of the stairs, sat on carpets in the middle of the room, and had to wait some time before the *myowun* made his appearance. Symes presented the governor-general's letter. The *myowun* talked about nothing in particular for about half an hour, and then left unceremoniously. There was a display of fireworks next day, the huge hollowed-out tree-trunk rockets, forbidden nowadays on account of their danger, and a *yein pwè*, the posturing dance of "comely and well-made" damsels. No return visit was paid by the *myowun*, who "within the precincts of his own Government never returns a visit." This wholly misleading information was no doubt given to Symes by the "adventurers," Parsees, Armenians, Musulmans, and outcasts from all the countries of the East; who, he says, swarmed in Rangoon, and were all eager to keep British traders out. Every other person of distinction in Pegu, however, came to pay a visit, and the mass of the people looked upon the Englishmen's house as a sort of free circus. The *myowun*, however, sent food every day as a compassionate and kindly attention, and the party were invited to a *pwè*, the ordinary dramatic performance at "Government House," where also they were present at the "water-feast," the Burmese New Year's festival, and doused, and were doused, by a bevy of fair ladies. Symes was quite unaware that he was paying a regular *thingyan*, ceremonial visit to a superior,

and unsuspectingly poured rose-water into the *myowun's* hand. This was on the 12th April, which is always one of the *thingyan* days, nearly a fortnight after he had reached Pegu.

He remained there a week longer, and then went back to Rangoon, where his patience was sorely tried by the delay of any news from Amarapura, as to his visit to the Court. This did not come till well on in May, and then the royal mandate instructed the *myowun* to come up with the party. Symes was asked to attend the *yôn*, the Rangoon council house, to hear this order read, but sent his *munshi* instead. Then a lucky day for the start had to be determined, and the 28th May, at eight in the morning, was fixed upon. The boats for the British party, however, were not ready, and the *myowun* went ahead. Here he was punctual. He stepped on board his barge at the first stroke of the great drum which announced eight o'clock. Symes's party in their six boats—his was sixty feet long, with twelve-feet beam, a great deal better than Ensign Lester's, thirty-eight years before—started the next day. It was well over two months since he had reached Rangoon.

He had, however, employed his time profitably in observing, as far as the watch kept over him permitted, the ways of the people, and of these he gives an account which was no doubt quite new to the England of over a hundred years ago. Rangoon, which had practically only come into existence about forty years before, contained five thousand registered houses in the city and suburbs, with an estimated population of about thirty thousand. It had become crowded with the insolvent debtors of India : " Malabars, Moguls, Persians, Parsees, Armenians, Portuguese, French, and English," all of them carrying on a petty trade, undisturbed by the Burmese, and liberally tolerated in their religion. " In the same street may be heard the solemn voice of the Muezzin,

calling pious Islamites to early prayer, and the bell of the Portuguese chapel, tinkling a summons to Roman Catholics." This was presided over by the Barnabite Father, Sangermano, who had then been twenty years in the country. Sangermano, whose *Burmese Empire* is well known, might have warned Symes of the significance of "Beg Pardon Day," but apparently did not. Rangoon streets in those days, like Mandalay before the annexation, were full of pigs and dogs, without masters, but very necessary and efficient scavengers. There were at the time several ships, from six hundred to a thousand tons burden, on the stocks, and the way in which they were put together met with the approval of the *Sea-Horse* officers, "in spite of the fact that the model was French." The circumstance that Burmese women were as energetic and business-like then, as they still are, was made evident to the mission. Close to their hut a large vessel was being built for the Governor of Dalla, then still a considerable settlement. Every day the wife of the governor came over in the morning to have an eye on the workmen. She stayed there for several hours, keeping them hard at it, and came back regularly every evening to see that they had not slacked off in the heat of the day. The governor himself seemed quite satisfied that no other supervision was wanted, for he never came himself. Captain Hiram Cox mentions in the following year (1796) that a ship of three hundred tons was then building in Prome, which at that time was a larger town than Rangoon.

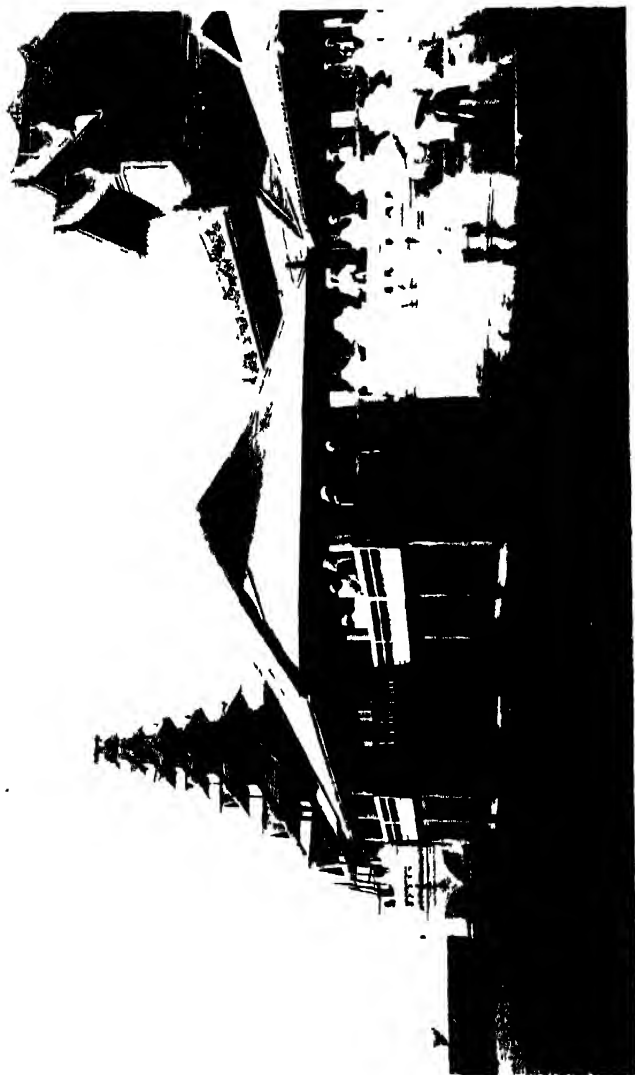
The journey up the river had no particular incidents, except that it was very leisurely, and that the baggage boat sunk in the rapids below Prome. Prome was reached on the tenth day, and some time was spent at Myedè, the district which the *myowun* "ate." Here temporary huts had been put up for the party, and it is clear that Symes had begun to realize that, according to

the sumptuary laws, these were not of the pattern that they should have been for envoys from a foreign State, but he was too courteous to protest against it.

At Pagān, which was not reached till the 9th July, some "deputies" from Amarapura met the mission. The head of the reception party was only a *wundauk*, quite a second-grade official, and he was accompanied by some district administrators and the "commandant of the Siamese guards," and they brought a royal barge to be towed by war boats. This was the first real civility from the Court, but the barge, though it was decorative, was so little comfortable that Symes, after occupying it for an entire morning, preferred his own boat.

The progress from Pagān was not much more rapid, and it was the 19th July before the capital was reached, but the mission was installed, not there, but in a small village on the Aungpinlè, a broad, or inland lake, between it and the hills. No special officer received them. The Pegu *myowun*, the governor of Bhamo and the *wundauk*, who had come to Pagān, informed Symes that the king was on the other side of the river, at Mingôn, and that it was contrary to Court etiquette for foreign envoys "to go abroad before the first audience." He was therefore not to cross the lake to Amarapura, but might ride about in the jungle as much as he pleased. The housing was not bad, but was not imposing, and alongside was established a party from China, which was represented to be an embassy from Peking, but was really a deputation from Yün-nan Chêng to settle frontier bazaar matters.

This was not encouraging, and a further incident suggested the irritations that were to come. A letter to Symes from General Erskine had come, and this had been opened and translated. It was suggested that Symes should go in person to the *yôn*, the council house, do homage to his Majesty by bowing to the palace, and beg to have it delivered. This Symes naturally refused to do,



SAWBWA'S HALL, OR PALACE.

and the letter was brought to him in a silken wrapper, but the attempt was significant.

Many of the indignities to which the mission was subjected were due to the overweening belief of the Burmese subordinates in their own dignity, and a desire for self-glorification, but this can hardly account for the delay in the audience and the delivery of the governor-general's letter. There was to be an eclipse in the ensuing month, and as this was due to a malignant demon, affairs of State had to be postponed. The astrologers calculated that the evil influences would not have passed away before the second waning of the month of Tawthalin, and therefore that date, the 30th August, was appointed for the reception of the embassy. Symes was also told that custom required that the king should be informed of the contents of a letter before he could possibly receive it. To this Symes agreed on the condition that he was present when the copy was made, and also agreed that this should be done, not in his house, but in the court house. The object of this appeared to be that from this building he should make obeisance to the palace spire, two miles away. Symes gratified them to the extent of making the ordinary Indian salaam. He also permitted a square erection to be put up in his yard for the presents intended for the king, which were commonly, but never in his presence, referred to as "tribute from the King of England." At the same time he was asked to have his marquee tents struck, since they seemed to be a reflection on the accommodation provided for him. Most of this was sheer flunkeyism. The postponement of the audience was no doubt due to direct orders from Bodaw Payā, but it has to be remembered that at this time he was convinced of his prospective deification in the not very distant future, and embryo Buddhas cannot hustle.

There was, however, no more postponement. The party started at eight in the morning on the 30th August. They

were taken in boats across the Aungpinlè, and saw Amarapura town for the first time. There Captain Symes was mounted on an elephant, but Wood, the assistant, and Dr. Buchanan had ponies, though all the Chinese deputation had elephants. A procession was formed, headed by a *thandawgan* (*lit.*, a receiver of the royal voice), who magnified himself, and maddened Symes by making him and his companions bow to the palace spire, whenever it became visible up lanes or at street corners, and giving his instructions after the manner of a physical drill instructor. It was a march of about a mile to the city wall, and a little farther on, outside the palace enclosure, they came to the *yôn*, which was a sort of ante-room to the *hlut-daw*, the meeting-place of the Privy Council and High Court of Judicature. At the *yôn* their shoes had to be removed, and they and the Chinese trade delegates sat down together at ten o'clock.

Then there was a long wait till the royal princes had assembled. They came on richly caparisoned elephants, with large escorts. The Crown Prince, who arrived last, had four or five hundred in uniform, besides a squadron of Cathay Horse, and it was then twelve o'clock, a wait of two hours. He came in a palanquin, surrounded by the officers of his household, stewards with long gilt wands, Brahmanical astrologers, in white robes and caps, starred with gold, and a mixed galaxy, or rabble, of gold spittoon, betel-nut-box cherut, and water-flagon bearers. The *myowun* of Bhamo paid the Chinamen the compliment of sitting beside them, but the Pegu governor thought it beneath him to so honour the British mission.

As soon as the *êngshémin* arrived the assembly was summoned to the *hlut-daw*, inside the palace enclosure. Shoes had to be taken off at the palace gate, and the *thandawgan* became "very troublesome" with his orders for constant obeisances. In the audience hall the heir-apparent sat on a six-inch high stool, the other princes

on mats, and the Englishmen were instructed to sit on their heels, which they endeavoured to do, with great discomfort to themselves and no satisfaction to the *thandawgan*, in spite of his hectoring.

After all this the king did not come. The governor-general's letter was placed on a silver tray in front of the vacant throne. A *thandawsin* recited its translation in Burmese in the jerky, sing-song tones prescribed for such functions, and a list of the presents was read, three prostrations being made before and after. Then a *nāhkan-gyi*, a receiver of the royal voice, asked three questions: "You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the king, queen and the royal family of England when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace with other nations? and was your country in a state of disturbance?" The last question made it clear that news of the French Revolution had reached Amarapura.

The Chinamen were not questioned. It was afterwards discovered that they had been manœuvred into the seats, such as they were, intended for the British mission. Symes replied, in Persian, that England and France were at war, but that all the fighting was on the Continent, and that England was quite tranquil.

Thus terminated the proceedings, and then a collation was served, consisting of sweetmeats, pickled tea, and betel nuts. None of the princes ate anything, and then the irrepressible *thandawgan* said it was all over, and they had better go, after genuflexions. They had, however, to wait at the *yôn* till the princes left, and the final slight—the whole ceremonial had been carefully arranged—the departure of the Chinese before the British party, was hardly worth considering. They reached their Aungpinlè quarters at three in the afternoon.

Next day the inevitable Baba Sheen and the diluted Portuguese, Jhansey, the "shabandar," or master atten-

dant, of Rangoon, came to say that, now that they had been recognized, the mission party was free to go anywhere, and that the Crown Prince was holding a Court next day at noon and would expect to see them. Symes, very naturally, wrote to the Pegu *myowun*, who ought to have conveyed the invitation, that he would certainly not come unless the heir-apparent was there in person, and also that he objected to the *thandawgan* and all his ways. The reply was satisfactory, and then the Armenian and the port officer, with the chemical trace of Portuguese blood, bluntly informed him that Burmese custom required that not only the prince, but all the ministers and chief officials of the Court should have presents made to them—"some manufacture of the country, or some rarity," not necessarily valuable, but not unhandsome. Symes, therefore, sent out to buy what European and Indian fabrics were to be had, muslins and calicoes and suchlike, and Baba Sheen and Jhansey were obliging enough to decide who was to get 'what, and how much of it, for in Burma presents are realities. What they have they hold. There is no remitting by merely touching the thing offered as in India. The shops recommended made money both ways, for they were named by Baba Sheen.

The ceremonial was much the same as on the previous day. Symes had to wait, as before, till the younger princes had arrived in rotation. They were admitted immediately on arrival, and the door closed when they had passed in. When the English party arrived there was no such alertness, and after waiting some minutes in the blazing sun, Symes turned to go away. The gate was then flung wide. This was irritating, but there was a new *thandawgan*, who at any rate was not dictatorial. The "audience" was a farce. Four *pônna*s, Brahmin priests, chanted a prayer which lasted a quarter of an hour. When this was over, a shuttered window above a

sofa suddenly opened and disclosed the head and shoulders of the prince. He sat immovable and stared stolidly before him for another quarter of an hour, without saying a word. Then the shutters closed, and a collation was served. Symes says his raiment was very fine, but whether the gold was solid he was too far off to see. He also remarks guardedly, that H.R.H. seemed to be fat. It may be noted that he did not succeed to the throne. Bodaw Payā was succeeded by his grandson, Bagyidaw. There were a number of Shan sawbwas present, and they left before Symes. This was a very emphatic snub, possibly a suggestion of the resentful *thandawgan*.

Symes went on, by arrangement, to visit the Mèdaw, a sister of Alaungpayā, and mother of the chief queen, and therefore both aunt and mother-in-law to the king. Here, at any rate, though there was plenty of formality, the old lady (she informed them that she was seventy-two, and hoped that they might all reach that age) was quite amiable and took practically no notice of the Chinamen, who were taken round everywhere as a sort of chastening to English conceit. Compared with the heir-apparent, she was absolutely garrulous.

On the succeeding days visits were paid to the junior princes, most of whom provided dancing girls and second-rate rope dancers and tumblers, instead of conversation. When he had got as far down the list as the Prince of Bassein, Symes started a conversation on his own account, with Baba Sheen as interpreter. The prince was either petrified by this unexpected enterprise, or he was congenitally incoherent, in spite of promptings, and eventually his "chief minister" poured out platitudes for him.

An attempt was then made to get Symes to pay visits to the various ministers—he had met none of higher rank than *wundauks*, a sort of under-secretary grade. He declined unless he had a promise that the visit would

be returned. He was informed that *wungyis* were very mighty personages, but refused to be impressed. Since Wood and Dr. Buchanan made no objection to calling, this compromise settled the question, and the *wungyis* got their presents.

Time was then put in by sight-seeing, and a visit to the *sayé-daw*, who may be called the grand superior. Rather to his surprise Symes found this head of the Holy Order "fat and jocular," and quite intelligently talkative, and he relaxed so far as to smile and to promise to pray for the envoy and his party.

Meanwhile, however, Armenians and Musulmans were doing their best to discredit the mission. They said the governor-general was a mere provincial, unfitted to treat on terms of equality with a crowned head ; that the English had come to India as merchants and followed this up by becoming invaders ; that there was to be a combination of all the Powers in India to turn them out ; that Spain and Holland had joined the French Republic, and that the end of England was close at hand. A ship under Burman colours was said to have reached Rangoon from the Isle of France which reported that a French fleet was on its way to India, and that four French ships of war were triumphantly cruising in the Indian Ocean.

The result of this appeared on the 19th September, when Symes went to the *hlut-daw* to receive the return presents "from the Burman King to the English Government," in "three large boxes covered with red cloth and two elephant's teeth of considerable size." There was no *nāhkan-daw* to recite a list of the presents, and Symes could get none but equivocal replies to his questions, the chief of which was whether he was to have a farewell audience or not. He was, however, told that the necessary papers and letters would be delivered to him two days before his departure, and that it was hoped he "would come to town" on the 28th September, the Thadingyut

festival, when it was customary for "the nobility" to pay homage to his Majesty. This was the *Kadaw* day, the "Beg Pardon" ceremony at the end of the Buddhist Lent. Symes did not realize that this implied that England was a tributary to Burma.

He sent a letter to "the chief woongee and council of State" representing that there had been an inclination since his arrival to treat him as the agent of a subordinate and commercial settlement rather than as the delegate of a great State. The governor-general's authority extended from Ceylon to Tibet, from the Bay of Bengal to the Western Sea, and his object now was to establish concord and confidence. On the occasion of his first visit to the palace, his Majesty's absence was represented to be accidental, but he was informed that a deputation would be sent from Burma to Bengal to obtain a counterpart of the arrangements arrived at. The tenor of the language held by the *hlut-daw* gave him reason to doubt this. Unless, therefore, an audience was granted, it would be the last time an agent of the governor-general would be subjected to a similar mortification. The invitation to "your festival" would be accepted only on the condition that, when the reply was given to the governor-general's letter, it should be at a formal interview with the king in person.

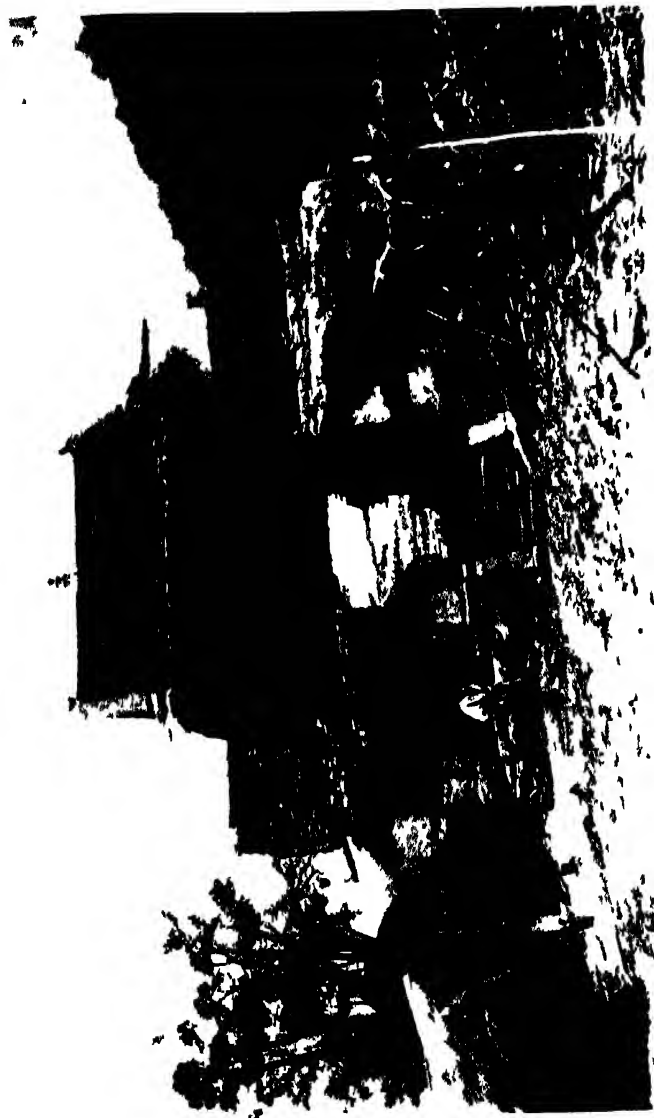
This brought a verbal message from the *myowun* of Pegu that a personal audience would be granted by the king, and that the suggestions for the regulation and encouragement of commerce would be for the most part approved in his Majesty's reply to the governor-general. Symes requested to have this in writing, and got "a short note written in the Burmese language."

The envoy accordingly went to "Beg Pardon" on the 30th September. As before, he started at ten, had to wait till the princes passed him on their way to the *hlut-daw*, beginning at twelve o'clock, but found that

the Shan sawbwas had assembled at the *yôn* before him. This time he had not to take off his shoes till he got to the inner enclosure separating the *hlut-daw* from the palace. In the hall of audience Bodaw Payā kept them waiting no longer than a quarter of an hour. He was a mass of gold fal-lals and jewellery; a short, sturdy man with hard features and a dark complexion. Four pōnnas chanted a prayer; a *nāhkan* recited the names of all who had come to do homage, with the offerings they had brought. When the Englishmen's names were reached (we are not told whether before or after the sawbwas) they were requested to take some grains of rice in their joined hands and bow low to the king. Bodaw Payā mumbled a few words, which were understood to be the granting of the *salwè*, the insignia of the Burmese order of nobility, to some of those present, and almost immediately afterwards disappeared down the steps at the back of the throne, without having done more than look fixedly at Symes and his companions.

At the *yôn*, after the princes had left on their elephants, a *nāhkan* brought the royal letter "in a case of japanned wood, covered with a scarlet cloth." He wanted to hand it over as a messenger might an ordinary communication, but Symes would not take it till he got a formal declaration that it was a reply from his Burman Majesty to the letter of the British Governor-General of India. A *myosaye*, a town clerk, carried it before them back to their hut. Symes asked for a translation, and two days later was informed that his Majesty had authorized this to be given in Persian. This did not come till the 14th October. It was as follows:

The Lord of Earth and Air, the Monarch of extensive Countries, the Sovereign of the Kingdoms of Sonaparanta, Tambudipa Zeyawadana, Zaniengnia [Zein, probably the Eastern Lao country], Suvarnabhumi, in the district of "Hurry Mounza" [in the country of Chiangmai and Chianghsen], Hamaratta [Kěngtūng], Zodinagara



MONG KA GATE FORTIFIED AGAINST KACHINS

[Chieng Hung and Chiengthingyi], Sovereign of all these wide-extended regions, Lord of the great cities of Pouckayama [Pagān], Hsare Kettara [Promē], Sygnie [Thein-ni], Leboo [? Lēgya], Magone [Mogaung], Momeik, Momien [Mōng Myen T'eng-yüeh], Neoum Shoe [Yawnghe], Monē, Mobyē, Kēnglūng, of all which countries and cities, the governors and potentates send presents of respect and submission to the Royal Presence; also Hanthawadi, commonly called Pegu, the port of Rangoon, the port of Bassein, Arakan, the port of Denyawadi, Sandoway, the port of Dwarawadi, Myanaung, the port of Micka Wadi, Ramri, the port of Ramawadi, Mōttama or Martaban, Tavoy, Beit or Mergui, and Tenasserim; ports belonging to his Majesty where merchants trade and the inhabitants are protected; Proprietor of all kinds of precious stones, of the mines of Rubies, Agate, Tourmaline, Sapphires, Opal; also the mines of Gold, Silver, Amber, Lead, Tin, Iron and Petroleum; whence everything desirable that the earth yields can be extracted, as the Trees, Leaves, and Fruits are produced in Paradise; Possessor of Elephants, Horses, Carriages, Fire-arms, Bows, Spears, Shields, and all manner of warlike weapons; Sovereign of valiant Generals and victorious armies, invulnerable as the rock Mahakonda. Mahā Nagara, Amarapura, the great and flourishing Golden City, illumined and illuminating, as the Habitation of Angels, lasting as the firmament, and embellished with Gold, Silver, Pearls, Agate, and the nine original Stones [diamond, ruby, pearl, sapphire, opal, tourmaline, amethyst, amber, jade], the Golden Throne, the seat of splendour, whence the royal mandate issues and protects mankind; the King who performs the ten duties, incumbent on all Kings, called Mingyi-Tayā, all of which this great King duly performeth; whose understanding, by divine aid, is enlightened to guide his people in the right way, and preserve them in pious obedience and the road of true religion; the ease and happiness of whom daily increase, under the auspices of such a Monarch; Master of the White, Red, and Mottled elephants; may his praise be repeated, far as the influence of the sun and moon, of him whose servants place the fortunate foot of favour and confidence, like the blooming Lotos, on their obedient heads: Such are the high Ministers, the Guardians of the State from among whom the principal Wungyi thus announceth.

The illustrious Governor-General, the Representative of the King of England, the Governor of the Company at Calcutta in Bengal, having deputed Captain Michael Symes, with letters and presents to the Golden Feet, who happily arrived at the port of Rangoon on the eleventh of the month of Tagu, in the Burman

year 1157 and the Mohamedan year 1209, on the 28th of the month of Shabān, of which the Governor of Hanthawadi transmitted regular information to the Golden Feet, together with a list of presents, as follows: two pieces of gold muslin, two pieces of silver muslin, four pieces of white flowered muslin, four pieces of silk, ten pieces of variegated silk, six pieces of plain satin, two pieces of flowered satin, two pieces of velvet, six corabahs [jars] of rose-water, one fine crystal stand with appendages, six crystal water cups bordered, two pair of candle shades, two crystal cups with silver feet, two large crystal bowls, two large mirrors, one double-barrel, one rifle-barrel, and one plain gun, one pair of pistols, six pair of golden slippers, twenty-five pieces of broad cloths, an electric machine and the Bhagavat Ghita. When this intelligence reached the Presence, orders were sent to the before-mentioned Governor to expedite the journey of Captain Symes, with his attendants and baggage, also to provide suitable boats, and everything requisite for his conveyance, and conformably to these orders, the Governor acted. When the deputation arrived near the great city of Pagān, officers of rank were sent from the Presence to meet Captain Symes, also a boat, such as is used by nobility, with two war boats to tow it, likewise guards and attendants to do him honour, as is consistent with the duties of friendship. After his arrival, all necessities and a suitable house, in an eligible place, were provided for his accommodation.

From the east, from the city of Oudeherit, in the empire of Gondala Sri Taing, comprehending Tartary, all the Nobles and Potentates whereof are dependant on the Sovereignty of China, the sublime Udibwa, or Emperor, has sent to his Majesty three virtuous daughters; intercourse and confidence subsist with his kingdom, presents are exchanged, and ambassadors pass between the monarchs. This year, according to custom, the illustrious messengers, Intaloree, Kelloree, and Inloree [i.e. probably In Ta Lao-yè, Kai or Ken Lao-yè and In Laoyè—not a Ta-Jên among them] arrived at the Golden City with presents and rarities, near to the habitation of these a house was erected for the members of the English Deputation, neither far distant, nor very close, everything they stood in need of was provided, and guards were stationed to protect them.

In the Burman year 1157, or year of the Hejira 1210, and the 16th of the Burman month, Tawthalin, or 14th of the Musalman month, Suffir, the Chinese Deputies and the Minister from Calcutta, Captain Michael Symes, bearing letters and presents, were attended to the Presence by officers of rank and dignity; and as on the

Mount Meru in the lofty Soudma, the Dewas resort to make obeisance to the divine Thagya Min, so in the Golden Hlutdaw, where were seated the Êng-She Min, or heir-apparent, Midaw, Lord of Sagaing, the eldest son of the Êng-She Min, Pyi Min, Lord of Promé, Bassein Min, Lord of Bassein, and all the Royal Family, Ministers of Nobility, the English Gentlemen, together with the Deputies from China, were received with ceremonious attention, and the letters and presents were there presented. In that splendid assembly they were honourably feasted, and at the same time was opened the friendly letter, which was read by the Reader of Government, and the contents, expressive of a desire to cement friendship, open a free intercourse, and encourage trade, were explained, and they gave to his Majesty the highest satisfaction. It was likewise mentioned that further particulars would be communicated by Captain Michael Symes, who accordingly addressed a Memorial to his Majesty, at which his Majesty was exceedingly pleased.

Captain Michael Symes in his Memorial states, that in the Burman year 1156, and the Mohamedan year 1209, certain murderers and robbers of merchants and travellers having fled from Arakan into the district of Chittagong, the troops of this Government, and their leaders, entered the territories of the Company in quest of the offenders ; but the English Government, being at that time unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, and uninformed what were the designs of these troops, did not think proper to deliver up the fugitives ; and that, after a deliberate inquiry into the facts alleged against them, and a thorough knowledge of the matter, the criminals were apprehended and delivered up ; and that, hereafter, upon application (by letter) delinquents of this description will be surrendered, which will promote the welfare of both countries, and contribute to the satisfaction of their respective Sovereigns.

Captain Symes also desires, that from the English merchants and traders who come to the ports of this Kingdom, only such duties, customs, and charges be exacted as are duly authorized, and established by ancient usage ; and that merchants be allowed to carry their merchandise wheresoever they may think proper ; and not be molested or prevented by any officer or subject under this Government ; and after having disposed of their goods, they may be permitted to purchase, either personally, or by agent, the produce of the country ; and that no person at Rangoon be suffered to exact from merchants more than what is authorized ; and that, if the Government of Bengal should think fit hereafter

to appoint a person to reside at Rangoon, on the part of the Company, to superintend mercantile concerns, and forward letters and presents to the Golden Feet, a right of residence is granted to such person ; and that merchants and traders who think themselves aggrieved, shall have liberty to prefer their complaints at the Golden Feet, in any manner they may think most eligible ; and that English merchants, unacquainted with the Burman language be permitted to employ whatever interpreters they choose in the management of their affairs ; and that English ships when dismasted, and obliged to put into Burman ports by stress of weather, in want of repair and assistance, be aided by the officers of Government, and provided with necessaries to refit, at the current prices of the country ; and that on the frontiers of Arakan, on the borders of the river Nāf, a choki, or guard-house, and a village be established. Moreover, Captain Michael Symes notifies, that whatever Burman merchants shall resort to English ports, they shall be allowed, on paying the established duties, to buy and sell, and none shall molest or hinder them, and they shall have liberty to go and come, and barter at their pleasure ; and that if any person oppress, or act unjustly towards them, the law will take cognisance thereof and punish the offender : and that if his Burman Majesty shall think fit to send any person to Calcutta or Bengal, or to any other English port, there to reside for the purpose of superintending mercantile concerns, all representations made by such person to the English Government will be duly attended to, and justice done according to law ; and that if any Burman ships put into English ports through stress of weather, dismasted, and in want of repair, every assistance shall be given to such ships, on paying the equitable and accustomed rates ; and that the enemies of the Burman nation shall not be assisted by the English with guns and weapons, powder, ball, or warlike stores ; and in like manner, that the enemies of the English as well European as Indian, shall not be aided by the Burmans, with stores, provisions, or timber, in any manner ; and that if his Burman Majesty shall think fit to send any person to ratify these proposals, such person will be received with due regard, and meet with adequate attention.

These desires of Captain Michael Symes, and the contents^d of his Memorial, the tenor of which has been detailed, were conveyed to the Golden Ears of the Sovereign of Nobles and Potentates ; therefore seeing that the illustrious Governor-General, the Representative of the King of England, has thus manifested his desire to cement friendship and amity, *I, the King Immortal, whose*

philanthropy is universal, whose anxiety for the benefit and welfare of all mankind never ceases,

I DIRECT

that all merchants of the English nation, who resort to Burman ports, shall pay customs, duties, charges, warehouse hire, searchers, etc., agreeably to former established usage.

English merchants are to be permitted to go to whatever part of the Burman dominions they think proper either to buy or to sell, and they are on no account to be stopped, molested, or oppressed, and they shall have liberty to go to whatever town, village, or city they choose, for the purpose of buying, selling, or bartering; and whatsoever articles of the produce of this country they may be desirous of purchasing, they shall be allowed to do so, either in person, or by their agents: and English merchants having been long accustomed to trade to Burman ports without molestation, It is COMMANDED, that they continue their trade in future without molestation; and should the English Company think proper to depute a person to reside at Rangoon, to superintend mercantile affairs, maintain a friendly intercourse, and forward letters to the Presence, it is ordered that such person shall have a right of residence; and should any English merchant be desirous of sending a representation, the officers of Government, in any port, district, or town, shall forward such representation. or if a merchant should be inclined to present in person, a petition to the Golden Feet, he shall be allowed to come to the Golden Presence for that purpose: This is peremptory. And as English merchants are unacquainted with the Burman language, they are to be allowed to employ whatever interpreters they think proper; and as, in the stormy season, English ships are often dismasted, and driven into Burman ports by stress of weather, ships in this unfortunate predicament shall be supplied with all necessary wood, workmen, etc., at the current rates of the country; and the arrangement which Captain Michael Symes has in friendship proposed, relative to commercial concerns, for the encouragement of merchants and traders, the Ministers of the Palace have received the Royal Command to signify to the Governors and Killedars [commanders of forts] of the several ports and districts, that such arrangement is to be observed and carried into effect: and respecting the establishment of a chokey and village on the frontiers of Arakan, on the banks of the river Náf, as there is strict and confidential friendship with the King of England, there can in future be no difference or distinction between the countries; and with

respect to the desire that aid should not be given by this State to the enemies of England, as well European as Indian, and that such enemies should not be assisted at our ports with warlike implements, timber, or provisions, it is to be observed, that, to purchase warlike weapons, lead and powder, is forbidden to all nations, but when merchants come to trade, they will be allowed to carry away their commodities, agreeably to the usage of merchants. All the requisitions made by Captain Symes regarding customs, timber, searchers, and commercial matters, are notified to Killedars, Governors, Guards of the Ghauts, and persons in authority, and observance of the orders issued thereupon strictly enjoined. And to Captain Michael Symes has been presented, as a mark of favour, one ruby and one sapphire ring, and to Mr Wood and Dr Buchanan, each one ruby ring, also to Captain Symes a precious stone, called *mabee*, weighing three viss and forty tickal [described by Symes as "a mass of stone of considerable size, in appearance resembling the chrysoprase" a viss = $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb a tickal, a little more than half an ounce], and a stone of jasper [jade] weighing eight viss, also two elephant's teeth weighing thirty-four viss these have been delivered to the care of Captain Symes. The Queen, likewise, has presented him with a ruby ring of nine stones, a silver box weighing ninety tickal, and a silver cup of eleven tickal and three quarters weight, also another silver box, weighing forty-four tickal and another cup weighing six tickal, and two silver trays, one weighing sixty-six tickal, the other seventy-seven, and two gilt trays of a different shape, and two large boxes; and from the second Queen, called Myauk Nammadaw, one ruby ring, and three sapphire rings, and a chest with a lock, and two gilt trays, and three painted cups [lacquer]. These several articles are sent to the illustrious Governor-General, who is intrusted in confidence by the King of England, with the administration of India, and who, ever anxious for the welfare and prosperity of his country, encourages and assists Burmans that trade to English ports. In like manner friendship is happily maintained with the Chinese Government, and a constant intercourse is preserved. It will therefore be right that the illustrious Governor-General do acquaint the King of England of the friendship that is on this occasion established, and which it is hoped will be permanent.

With this came a royal mandate, issued by the "high and transcendent wungyi," to the commanders of garrisons and governors of seaports detailing these orders.



A VILLAGE MARKET DAY

The letter is a perfect example of the pride of the Burmese and their belief in themselves which induced them to irritate and defy the Indian Government. The first part is the composition of the chief minister, who shines with reflected glory, and the final order enunciated by the king himself supplies in pomposity what the minister had formulated in extravagance. It is, as a matter of fact, a paper composed at large and not addressed to Sir John Shore, of whose letter no notice is taken, and it is from the *hlut-daw*, not from the king. The whole thing was window-dressing. There was no treaty, and the royal order was quite delusive. Symes, however, thought that the regulations were liberal and satisfactory. In spite of the indignities to which he was subjected, he was imposed upon by the manners of the officials whom he met. The Burman, when he is not absolutely overbearing, has very great polish of manner.

Before he left Amarapura the king sent him a gilded and ornate copy of the *Yāzawin* and of the *Dhammathat*, the Code of Laws. Symes also had an informal interview with the heir-apparent, whose talk was "frivolous," and who seemed more anxious to get the English envoy to admire the sprightliness of his two little daughters than to inform himself about England or India. The mission left without any leave-taking ceremony, and, except for the thrashing of a servant of Dr. Buchanan's, who was collecting plants for him, and a midnight scuffle between Symes's people and the boatmen, caused by one of them stepping over a boatman asleep on deck, there were no incidents. It was some of the Prince of Taungngu's men who beat the plant collector, and as they were notoriously a quarrelsome lot, constantly coming to grips with the Prome prince's men, Symes said nothing about it. The river journey was leisurely, and a good deal of sight-seeing was done. The party left Amarapura on the 29th October and reached Rangoon on the 17th

November, and left ten days later. By arrangement, the *Sea-Horse* saluted the Burman flag with eleven guns, and the battery replied with no more than seven. A reference to the *myowun* pointing this out remained without any answer. Bad weather prevented the arrival of the party in Calcutta before the 22nd December.

Bodaw Payā, through the chief *wungyi*, had expressed a desire to have certain specified Sanskrit books, a Brahmin priest versed in astrology, with a wife of the same caste, and a carriage. The Government of India had accepted the "treaty" as a definite fact, and accordingly dispatched Captain Hiram Cox to take up the position of resident at Rangoon. He had, in some ways, an even more exasperating experience than Symes. He left Calcutta on the 15th September in the packet *Swallow*, and reached Rangoon on the 8th October, 1796. The description he gives of the town as it then was, a century and a quarter ago, is rather interesting. "The town has a rude appearance from the river, being composed of straggling huts of cadjan [palm leaves] and bamboo, raised on piles close to the water's edge, slips for building ships, and mud docks. Some few tiled houses are seen among the trees within the stockade, and the roof of the Custom House is raised two stories, in the Chinese style; part of the timber stockade, which encloses what is called the fort, is seen towards the river; and near the flagstaff is a very good wooden pier, with a crane and steps for landing goods, etc. Here, also, is placed the saluting battery, on which are mounted sixteen old iron guns, four or six pounders, which are run out through portholes, in a wooden breastwork, like a ship's side. Many small pagodas, some of them with gilt spires, are seen amongst the trees on both sides of the river. The buildings along shore, on the town side, extend about one mile and a half, and on the opposite one about a quarter of a mile."

The beginning was not very promising. A *nāhkan*

and a *sayégyi* met them at the mouth of the river, which is much as if a Foreign Office messenger were sent to receive a foreign mission, and the harbour-master said that the "king's godun," i.e. the Custom House, was prepared for Cox's reception. The Custom House was the place where country vessel skippers were taken to be searched, so Cox said he certainly would not go there, but would be glad to see the harbour-master on board. He had his way, and was installed in "a capacious lower-roomed brick house, the only one in the town." There the inevitable macaronic Portuguese, Jhansey, and the insinuating Baba Sheen came to see him, with the result that Jhansey went to Amarapura and came back on the 19th November with "orders" for Cox to proceed to the capital. The boats, however, were not ready before the 5th December, and it was January 24th before Amarapura was reached, partly because the carriage for the king was a very awkward load for a Burman boat. Cox was conducted to "an inhospitable spot," "a barren sand-bank" to the north-west of the city. There an "order" on a palm-leaf was sent to him by a "menial" of the *myowun*, telling him to come to Mingôn, where the king was engaged on his pagoda. A verbal message came back in reply to Cox's protest that he "took no orders," saying the *myowun* would meet him half-way. Cox then went as far as a village on the west bank, and said he would stay there till "the viceroy" came. In reply to this, two war boats came down with the newly appointed *yéwun* of Rangoon, who said the *myowun* had been on the point of starting, but received a sudden summons to attend on the king. Cox then agreed to go on to Mingôn, but said he would not leave his boats till he was properly received. The party then went three miles upstream till they reached a sand-bank in the middle of the river, on which huts had been built for their accommodation, but there was no "viceroy," and Cox refused to land.

The *myowun* came up that night between seven and eight, and ranged alongside Cox's boat, but Cox persisted in refusing to land till he was received there. The *myowun* said he would be there in the morning, but the *yéwun* and Jhansey appeared then to say that the "viceroy" had been obliged to go to the palace again, and that the king would be displeased if he heard that the Englishman was still on board his boats. Cox remained stubborn, and eventually the *myowun* did come, and the *yéwun*, after more protests, conducted Cox to the huts to present him there. The conversation at first was fiercely civil, but became almost amiable on the part of the *myowun* before this reception was over. He said he was going to call frequently, but passed the sand-bank during the next few days without taking any notice of the party.

The "city" of Mingôn was not far off. It was "an assemblage of bamboo huts, with a few wooden houses, straggling along the western bank of the river for about two miles. About the centre is the wooden palace of his Majesty, externally of a mean appearance; and along the bank near it were ranged about ten large accommodation boats for the royal family."

With Cox there had come a Burman, who had three years before been sent to inquire into the religion and manners of the people of Ceylon. This man was introduced to the king, and had a familiar conversation with him about the English carriage. When it had been described, Bodaw Payā said it did not seem to be nearly so fine as the one he already had. The Burman promptly said it was much finer, and when the king had sent him, to see his gilded coach, stuck to his opinion. Whatever he may have known about religion, it was clear that he was wanting in a knowledge of Court etiquette. However, Bodaw Payā took it good-humouredly, probably to annoy the horrified courtiers, who expected a homicidal outbreak.

It seems likely that it was curiosity about this carriage which led to the audience which Cox got quite unexpectedly early. Also the king was inquisitive about Assam—Wesali, as the Burmese call it. He sent the Rangoon *yéwun* with two Assamese coins and a map "painted on cloth" to inquire whether Cox had any knowledge of the province. Cox was able to give him information which he thought quite sufficient to warn off Burmese enterprises there, but he proved to be quite mistaken.

Orders came that Cox was to be ready for his audience on the 8th February, five days after his arrival at his sand-bank. This was gratifying enough, but the uncertainty about the procedure was disconcerting. Cox had evidently had hints from Symes, or instructions from the India Council. At any rate he had conversations with the *yéwun*, and wrote definitely to the *myowun*, whom he regarded as in attendance on him, that "the British nation, moderate and equitable in all its dealings, arrogated no superiority, but subscribed inferiority to none"; that "it was not the man, but the office which claimed respect"; that the Burman Government "must never use the language of degradation"; that when he wrote, it would be a "memorial," not a "petition." The reply was airy and intangible. The reception was to be all that could be desired, but details must rest with his Majesty. The Rangoon governor persisted in trying to settle everything through the *yéwun*, and Cox retaliated by sending Mr. Burnett, his private secretary.

On the night before the audience, however, the governor did come. It was characteristic that when he landed on the island he spent some time looking at the carriage and at the coining machinery, which was a personal present from Sir John Shore to the king. Evidently he wanted Cox to come out to receive him, but Cox had too much respect for his office, and succeeded so far that he received his visitor at the "entrance of the public

room " of his hut. The *myowun* talked about nothing in particular, but sent at night to say that everything was arranged : the king and his family were to be present ; war boats would tow Cox over from the island to the river-bank ; and that the " viceroy " himself would receive him when he landed. Cox, for his part, was to take off his shoes and leave his umbrella behind at the palace gate, and only two attendants were to go on with him, and any guard he might land was to be without arms.

The *myowun* did come to the island very early in the morning, apparently more to see that Cox agreed to taking off his shoes, rather than as a compliment. The channel to the river-bank was only two hundred and fifty yards wide, but the landing of the carriage was more important than the landing of the envoy, and it took an hour. The audience was in the palace tent, not in the palace itself, and the last three hundred yards was through a double line of soldiery, squatted on their hams, holding their match-locks grounded before 'them : " They were dressed in the common habits of the country, and were a mere rabble."

The Burman officials *shikhoed* three times, and Cox and his companions took off their hats and bowed three times to the spire. They did not go in by the east door, the door of honour, but by the north, and the bowings were repeated there. Inside they walked all down the east of the tent and wheeled into the centre, where there were mats, and on these Cox sat, after dropping on one knee and bowing to the throne, sitting down cross-legged, and being told to sit sideways, and above all to hide his feet.

The audience tent was about three hundred feet in diameter, circular, and with a sixty-foot high gilded centre pole, and the sides were supported by an arcade of a hundred arches. The throne was " an octagon of wood, like a large pulpit : each face was about ten feet ; the

floor elevated about six feet above the level of the tent." Cox and his suite were seated straight in front of the throne, with the presents on lacquered stands in front of him, and the carriage close to the outside of the arcades, where the king could see it.

Bodaw Payā kept them waiting for twenty minutes. He was not in his royal robes, but "in white muslin with a gold border and had on a crown, shaped something like a mitre, about fifteen inches in height." He asked which of the party was the resident, who the others were, and what was the significance of Cox's epaulets and cockade, and after some remarks about the presents, said he understood Cox was a sensible and polite person. The *thandawgan* then chanted a list of the presents, and the king remarked to the chief *wungyi*: "The weather is very hot, I must retire, take care of him." The whole audience had lasted twenty minutes. There was the usual collation, and then Cox returned to his sand-island with nobody better than *thandawgans* to escort him.

Nevertheless the general opinion was that the reception had been most favourable, so much so that a Mr. Agazar, a Rangoon merchant, came to say that he and all the merchants of Rangoon considered themselves under British protection, and asked to be supported in their protests against the exclusive trade privileges granted to Boodhan, a Mahomedan, who was roundly described as an insolent unprincipled villain.

The king meanwhile went to see the carriage, and after consecration prayers had been said over it, got in, and expressed his satisfaction, and at the same time told the queens they must be careful not to damage it. He also asked Moncourtuse, the English interpreter, to tell Cox to go and see the Mingôn pagoda, and not to omit noticing the leaden roofs and pillars which he, Bodaw Payā, himself had devised. The king's favourite grandson, afterwards Bagyidaw, sent Cox two legs of beef, four pieces

of pork, and a jar of clarified butter. He was only eleven years old, but the palace atmosphere seemed to be distinctly favourable. Cox sent the boy a book on British birds with coloured plates, some cut-glass bottles, "two boxes of Tunbridge toys, two small boxes of Dutch toys, some gilt writing paper, with blacklead pencils, and a sportsman's knife." At the suggestion of the *yéwun*, he added "a round hat with a white turban, and black and red feathers, which I used as an undress hat." This created great enthusiasm. The boy took it to his grandfather, who promptly put it on. The future king then said: "I will wear this when I go in the war boats;" but Bodaw Payā said: "No, it is not for you." There, so far as history goes, the matter ended.

The king crossed over to Amarapura the next day, so the visit to the Mingôn pagoda was postponed for four days. On the way there Cox was asked to take off his hat to the *hlutdaw*, but refused. He did, however, remove his shoes at the beginning of the approach to the pagoda. He seems to have been sceptical about the suitability of lead for supporting so enormous a weight. An official was careful to point out a pile of leaden slabs, all gilt, which, he said, had been brought by angels the night before, thus clearly proving divine approval. Cox noted marks of melted wax on the slabs, which seemed to show that the angels had worked by candlelight, but he did not think it necessary to urge the point, and confined his doubts as to endurance and celestial co-operation to his notes. There was a good deal of the 'spoilt child about both Court and king. Bodaw Payā was so interested in the *mussak* (the pig or goat-skin bag) of the *bhisti* that he made the Rangoon harbour-master do water-carrier for him when he went to perform the water-dropping ceremony at the pagoda, and one night he sent over at midnight for a nutmeg grater, the like of which he had never heard of before. Also he engaged Cox to make a



THE MIN ÔN PAGODA RENT IN THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1940

balloon for him. Cox took a good deal of trouble over it, and had scores of conscripted labourers sent to help him, but it was impossible to make a "Montgolfier" with the materials provided, and the balloon came to be a sort of axle round which other matters revolved. Cox would ask when he was to have his public reception by the *hlutdaw* and could get to work; the *yéwun* countered by asking how the balloon was getting on; Cox said he was not a balloon-maker, and the *yéwun* said that search was being made for a precedent.

The *yéwun* developed a taste for foreign cookery, and dined with Cox whenever he could, and never failed to make fresh suggestions of persons, queens and others, who ought to get presents, and also usually took a bottle of scent, or something of the kind, "for the king." Early in this programme he brought Cox a hundred ticals, and said it was from the *hlutdaw*, who had the king's orders to pay this sum every ten days. Cox refused to take it, and also did not take this hint, that the *hlutdaw* might be very accessible if money came into the question. There were also frequent references to refugees in Chittagong, who were wanted in Arakan, and to the assembling of an army under the heir-apparent to march on Assam. The king was said to be reviewing this army before it set out: also he was nine miles up the river cutting firewood to burn bricks for the pagoda, and the ministers had to be in attendance on him. Cox did not fail to warn the *yéwun* that an expedition to Assam might bring about a collision with British troops, but this was received with calm indifference.

Cox began to think of leaving for Rangoon. Snow water swelled the river, and his island was steadily getting smaller. He himself became rather unwell after witnessing a firework display in the heat of the day. He had got his heavy baggage loaded on boats when an order came down from Kyaukmyaung that he was to have his

interview with the *wungyi*, and that the *myin wungyi* (which might be translated Master of the Horse) was coming down to make arrangements. The meeting took place in a special building erected for the purpose, and Cox took off his shoes when he ascended the first platform. The two were installed on daises facing one another, and came to shake hands in the space between. Cox gave the *wungyi* a golden sovereign, and got a fid of betel in return. The rest was common form talk, but the *wungyi* expressed his agreeable surprise at finding the envoy so affable, while Cox, in his diary, records that he found in him "neither hauteur, particular dignity, nor promise of sagacity." House-to-house visits were then exchanged. Cox gave the *wungyi* his pistols, and the *wungyi* presented Cox with a dha, "which he had proved on the enemies of his country." He also asked for a tent, as he was going back in attendance on the king, who had already asked for and got one from Cox, who seems to have been very well supplied in this way.

After this interview Cox left what he calls "Patience Island," where he had been for nearly two months, and returned to Amarapura, where no preparation had been made to receive him, and he had to find his own way to a house which Argazar, the Armenian merchant, had offered him.

So far Cox's experiences had been wearisome. They were now to become more and more unpleasant. The Governor of Rangoon and the *yéwun* were both anxious that he should go back immediately to Rangoon. An audience was arranged with the heir-apparent, but broke down because Cox was asked to walk barefoot from the gate to the steps of the house, which he flatly refused to do. The *myowun* then announced that he must go back to Rangoon, and urged Cox to accompany him, and when he refused, sent a hasty message to say he wanted to have no more to do with him. There were

signs, however, that this was not so much petulance as a conviction that Cox was nearly at the end of his supply of presents, and in a few days it appeared that the king had ordered the *myowun* to go back to Rangoon, and if Cox had gone with him to insist on his return to Amarapura.

There followed a series of petty provocations and indignities. Cox received repeated intimations that the heir-apparent's "minister" was going to call, and that official never came. He asked for a boat to send a letter to the king, claiming the public recognition of his position, which he had not yet got, and which was now the more necessary because two renegade Englishmen had arranged the escape of a captured French captain from Bassein, and because a secret agent from a Lucknow raja had arrived in Burma and was proceeding to the Court, and he was put off day after day with futile excuses and unsuitable boats. At the same time a clerk from Arakan, who had been to India to ask for the extradition of fugitives by Chittagong, had been well received, and, referred to the "resident," came to see Cox and was told by him that he had not been accredited, and could do nothing till his position was established. A more public affront was the removal of the lattice-work fence, which had been put up in front of his door to keep off the rabble. The reason given was that it was wanted because the heir-apparent's head was to be washed. This was in itself an insult, for the whole bamboo material necessary for the enclosure could have been slit up and fixed in the ground in less time than it took to pull down Cox's *yazamat* and carry it to the *êngshémin*'s establishment. The insolence of the incident was emphasized by the demand made later in the day by the prince's steward for a bottle of brandy "to make a lotion."

Burnett, the private secretary, had at last got a boat to go to Kyaukmyaung, and was affably received, and

personally presented the inevitable presents to the king, but came back with a letter from the *myin wungyi* to say that his Majesty could not transact business in a jungle camp, but would soon be back in Amarapura. Meanwhile Moncourtuse, the Government interpreter, had been beguiling Cox with elaborate accounts of conversations with the heir-apparent's ministers, which had never taken place. Stones were flung into Cox's house by the townspeople, but the lattice fence was not put up again.

On the 8th May, Bodaw Payā, after a halt at Mingôn, made his formal entry into Amarapura. Cox was instructed that he must not use gold or silver in the decoration of his house because the use of these was confined to the royal family, and that the sepoys were not to carry arms. Cox agreed as far as the sepoys were concerned, but said that, as a stranger, he must please himself about the decorations. Accordingly he festooned his house and a lattice fence which he had put up on his own account with "gold and silver tange," had the house itself newly whitewashed, the road levelled and sanded, and strewn with gold-leaf. The *wungyis* were probably scandalized, but the king, as he passed in his old carriage, drawn by four led horses (with the English carriage drawn by men just in front), laughed and said: "Ah, this is the Company; that is my resident," and kept his eyes on Cox the whole time he was passing. It would seem that he had come to look upon Cox as a sort of extra Court official who could be trusted to get any of the foreign inventions which Burma could not supply, and yet wanted to have, a kind of merchant who did not have to be paid, or an extra official to whom it was not necessary to assign lands to eat. The officers of the Court were not slow to recognize this, and began to treat Cox more and more as a sort of upper servant. He was not taken to task for offending against the sumptuary laws in the

decoration of his house front, but, on the other hand, he was treated more and more with an off-handed patronage, which was not easily distinguishable from contempt. The *myin wungyi*, not by any means one of the highest grade, had undertaken to attend to Cox's memorials demanding formal recognition. He invited Cox to spend the day at his house, to come at eight in the morning and to bring dinner for the two of them, for the *wungyi* was quite as fond of foreign cookery as the *yéwun* had been. When Cox arrived he was kept waiting some time, and when he was admitted found the *wungyi* being shaved in a corner of the hall, far from the mat spread for his visitor. Cox persisted in calling for the translation of his memorial, and protested against Moncourtuse's shufflings and delays, and also against his habit of translating Cox's "I" by *payā kyun-daw* (your lordship's slave). The *wungyi* glibly announced that Moncourtuse was involved in a case of *crim. con.*; also that he was engaged in "particular papers." These "particular" papers Cox afterwards learned were a "paltry French novel, with cuts." He also wished to know why broadcloth was so hard to get, and said the king's grandson wanted some scarlet broadcloth to make a curtain for the house of a white elephant which was expected. Cox retorted that he was not a merchant, but a consul, and that when his position was regulated there would be abundant supplies. The *wungyi* then suggested that he should lie down and have a rest till dinner-time. Cox found that he was expected to repose on a mat outside on the verandah, among the servants. He went for a walk instead. When he came back he was told the *wungyi* was bathing, and then that he was in private consultation with high officials. Cox naturally went off, but left his interpreter and the dinner behind. Before he reached his house, the interpreter and several of the servants came galloping after him to entreat him to return

The *wungyi* had said it was entirely the fault of the servants, and was issuing orders for the beheading of a selection of them. Cox went back and found the *wungyi* in a state of great agitation, but this was caused by alarm at what Bodaw Payā would say if he heard that "his resident" had left in this fashion.

This was only one of many petty indignities put upon the envoy. The king's attitude about his ultimate beatification as a Buddha remained unchanged, but he had given up the idea of reforming religion and the body of the monks, at any rate for the present. The heads of nearly every monastery had been liable to heavy penalties under royal decrees, and now the whole body of the ministers were fully employed in issuing certificates of indemnity to them. His Majesty had gone the length of ordering that there was to be no water-throwing at the New Year's festival, and this had caused great popular irritation, especially among the young women. It seems quite likely that the stone-throwing at Cox's house was due to a vague belief that he had something to do with the prohibition. The king, when he had saw Burnett, the private secretary, at Kyauk-myaung, had held forth to him with the elementary piety of a junior Sunday school teacher, but in the sonorous phrases, garnished with Pali, of learned divines, on the shortcomings of the Holy Order. They gave up reading the canonical books as soon as they had been ordained, and led an entirely lazy existence afterwards, so that they were quite unfit to instruct the people, and offered them instead a shamefully bad example of ignorance. This and much more Burnett had to listen to, but when it was over the king came back to his palace in Amarapura. There he was to receive an Assamese princess. The army which was being mustered when Cox was on Patience Island had marched to within a dozen stages of the capital of Assam, and was then met by an intimation that a princess was being



AFTER THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS DANCING

dispatched, which would render any fighting unnecessary, and would have the same results.

This, and an equally important matter, the arrival of two white elephants, served to occupy the whole body of ministers, and Cox's memorials and his business generally had to wait, and so he remained fretting until the end of July. He decorated his house for the formal arrival of the Assamese lady, had a troupe of Burman dancers and musicians on the front verandah, and had his breakfast-table set out there. The queen-mother went in a superb palki of State to welcome this addition to her daughters-in-law. The princess's dowry, consisting of "elephants' teeth, jasper stones [jade], Assamese arms, chests of clothes, bedding," etc., etc., figured prominently, as did "women dressed in white, beating large tom-toms, with crooked silver soontahs, others sounding silver trumpets of various forms, others playing on silver cymbals; then followed the princess's state equipage of beaten gold; then the princess in a superb state palkee, borne like the queen-mother's, with two young women kneeling in front and rear; the curtains were of Chinese flowered gauze, so that she might see without being seen." Cavalry, musketeers, spearmen, and palkis with Court ladies were scattered about the long procession. To keep him employed, an electrical machine and a camera obscura belonging to the eleven-year-old grandson were sent to Cox for repair, and he was told that a "Malabar trader in Akyab had warned the Court that if the English envoy was established in Rangoon he would build a fort and dominate the place." A meeting of the *hlutdaw* decided that the terms of Cox's memorial were inadmissible, and could not be presented to the king; that if he were to receive the king's commission he would have to come to the *hlutdaw* to receive it, would be assigned a position below the *nā-hkans*, and would have to take an oath of allegiance and, further, that Arakan's ancient

claims to the country up to Dacca would have to be admitted or a proportion of the revenue paid.

An interlude was caused by trouble over the currency. Cox had brought a lakh's worth of pice from Bengal, and Bodaw Payā issued an edict that these were to be current, and that block silver and lead were prohibited to be used in the bazaars. No rate had, however, been established, and the bulk of the pice had not even been issued. Trade, therefore, came near to a standstill. Payments had to be made in rice instead of in lead, but transactions in silver were winked at. The king heard of this and promptly had the *wungyis* spread-eagled in the sun in the palace yard. This effectually stopped negotiations, and made Cox universally execrated by the ministers and the people as being the indirect cause of all the trouble with the pice that he had brought with him, and proceedings at the *hlutdaw* came to a standstill.

There were more delays caused by the important ceremony of washing the white elephants, and still more by his Majesty flying into a rage with the Pagān and Thōnba *wungyis*, two out of the four highest officials "on account of some religious opinions respecting the candle feast." They were turned out of house and office, and two *sayédawgyis*, monks of the highest rank, were confined in irons. An unfortunate merchant fared still worse. He had farmed a district and, like all the rest, made a great deal of money out of it, but was petitioned against, found guilty, and banished from Amarapura. Unfortunately for him, Bodaw Payā did not confiscate all his money, and the luckless man began to scatter what remained among the royal family to obtain a remission of the sentence. The king heard of it, and immediately had his head cut off. When Cox therefore urged that his memorial should be laid before his Majesty, he was told that it was as much as anyone's life was worth to venture on such a thing.

Finally there came the downfall of the *myin wungyi*, who had been Cox's great friend and nominal supporter for months, but latterly had become testy and overbearing. Cox had throughout given him greater credit for rank and influence with the king, and in the *hlutdaw*, than he possessed. The *myin wungyi* and the king had known one another all their lives, and had been play-fellows together, though the future minister was then a slave. During Singu M.n's reign Badôn Min, as he then was, had been warned of plots against his life, and it was the *myin wungyi* who had a chief hand in the removal of both Singu Min and Maung Maung. Therefore now, when a conspiracy to seize the palace during the king's absence was brought against the minister and was confessed to under torture by some of his associates, including his sons, Bodaw Payā did not put him to death, but had him very elaborately tortured "by ligatures on his limbs, and beating him over the breast, joints, shins and back, with a bar of iron."

Cox, therefore, ordered boats to take him back to Rangoon, but waited a few days until the governor, who had been ordered up from there, should arrive. He had faint hopes that the *myowun* would persuade the king to call for the memorial, but when Bodaw Payā saw the governor he was wholly taken up with the question how a huge tree-trunk was to be bored to make a rocket. It had been felled and brought down from Kyaukmyaung, and was calculated to take from two to three thousand viss (between seven and ten thousand pounds) of powder to fill it. There followed a wearisome wait, during which the *myowun* urged Cox to "take the king's commission," which implied attending at the *hlutdaw*, taking a position undetermined, but probably the same as that allotted to Symes, below the *nā-hkans*, and then proceeding to a pagoda to take the oath of allegiance. Cox refused, but conversations were carried on through

Keys, a surgeon, who had joined Cox some months before. The *myowun* steadily shouldered off questions of memorials in order to talk of alchemy, in which he had great belief. Meanwhile Reeves, an English merchant, who has come up to do business, was haled off to the *myowun's* court on a charge of having failed to pay choki dues on his way up the river, and was sentenced by two writers to be locked up in the stable till the money was paid. Two securities were taken for him, and Reeves naturally appealed to the resident, who protested vigorously by letter, since the *myowun* was "unwell." The *myowun* admitted that the demand was illegal, that the writers had no authority, and promised that they should be punished. Nevertheless Burnett, the private secretary, Reeves, and others of Cox's party were stoned inside the fort, so he determined to leave, and applied for a safeguard from the *hlutdaw* that he should not be interfered with on his voyage down. This was delayed on various pretexts, and finally a sudden intimation came that the heir-apparent would see the resident "on his own terms." Eventually, on Keys' insistence, elephants were sent instead of ponies, and the party, including the merchants, went to the prince's palace. It was a lengthy business. They were received by the chief of the prince's ministers, who conversationally informed him that the Burmese were a nation of warriors, and that "our merchants like to go to war; our armies are half composed of men who join war and traffic together, carrying a pack of goods as well as their arms with them." After a good deal of this, he conducted the party to the palace, where Cox and the others took off their shoes at the first step. They had to wait fifteen minutes for the appearance of the heir-apparent. Then he sat for another quarter of an hour, "looking very steadfastly on us without speaking." After this rather unpromising beginning, he became almost garrulous, and asked a number of questions

about the relative strength and population of France and England. Cox was emboldened by this to complain of the way he had been treated, and kept waiting at the capital. The prince listened for a short time, recommended Cox to "accept his Majesty's commission and go down to Rangoon," and then suddenly, in the middle of a speech from Cox, rose from his throne and retired.

A last attempt was then made through the queen-mother to get the memorials presented, but the old lady failed, and candidly told Cox that she was able to do nothing with her son. His mind had been poisoned by foreigners and secret emissaries of the French, so on the 17th October Cox left Amarapura, "my dismal habitation which God forbid I should ever enter again." He left "in common merchant-boats," which he had been forced to hire, and was practically ignored the whole way down to Rangoon, which he reached on the 1st November, "eleven months wanting four days" from the time he left it.

Five days after his arrival, the Pegu *myowun* issued an order prohibiting the departure of the mission from Burmese territory. The Government of India took no notice of this insulting treatment, and Cox remained chafing in Rangoon till he finally left on May 1, 1798, and landed in Calcutta on the 12th June.

The missions had done more harm than good. They had inflamed the Burmese with a belief in their power, and convinced them that hectoring was the proper attitude to adopt towards India.

The conditions in Arakan continued to be as threatening as ever, and inevitably led to the situation which forced war upon India a quarter of a century later in the reign of a much less autocratic person than Bodaw Payā. Thousands of Arakanese crossed over into Chittagong territory, and again a Burmese force crossed the Nāf and entrenched itself in British territory. A local or

police battalion attacked and was beaten off, but the Burmans retired, probably because of difficulties of supply, and Bodaw Payā sent an agent to Calcutta to demand the expulsion of the fugitives from Chittagong, and also probably to sound the Peshwa and other native princes of India as to a general alliance against the British. There was large talk about the "restoration" of Chittagong, Dacca, Luckimpur, and Cossimbazar, and even of Murshidabad, north of Calcutta. The Marquess Wellesley was now Governor-General of India, and British supremacy was about to be established, but he had more pressing matters nearer at hand than Burma. The vainglorious firebrand, Tippu, Sultan of Mysore, the haughty Nizam of Hyderabad, the fierce Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, the Bonsla of Nagpur, the Gaekwar and the Peshwa, chief of the Maratha horse-raiders, were much more serious enemies than an overseas Burma, but the Burmese had a quite unwarranted reputation as formidable fighters, and the governor-general therefore contented himself with assurances in general terms that the Arakan fugitives were to be prevented from making raids.

Vague promises of this kind were too like Burmese methods to satisfy the king, and restraint was in his eyes merely a sign of fear, so, through the Governor of Arakan, a dictatorial letter was sent to India, threatening an invasion if the refugees were not immediately extradited. This was in 1800, and the Tiger of Mysore had been disposed of, but there were enough gasconading potentates to harden the skin of Government against affronts of the kind, so no notice was taken of the menace; but early in 1802 Symes, now a lieutenant-colonel, was sent to settle the authorship of the violent Arakan letters, to obtain protection for traders against the steadily increasing extortion of Burmese port officials, and to arrange an "improved treaty." Symes was personally popular with the Burmese, and then and for years afterwards was

referred to as Meeke Sin, but officially he was treated with steady and intolerable insolence, so much so that unfortunately he had not the heart to write an account of his second mission. He did, indeed, get a verbal disavowal, in the name of the king, from the Governor of Pegu, of the outrageous letter from the Arakan governor, but it was given none too civilly. He reached Rangoon in May 1802, but it was September before he was allowed to go to Mingôn, where Bodaw Payâ was still busy with his pagoda. There he was even worse treated than Cox, for he was housed "on an island where corpses were buried and criminals executed," and there he remained for forty days. Later he was so far recognized that the presents were accepted and a house built for him, but meantime a so-called French embassy had arrived and was immediately given a public audience. This party did not claim, in fact it denied having any authority from France, and was as a matter of fact composed of an American supercargo of a merchant vessel, a Frenchman just escaped from Calcutta gaol, and two half Burmese, half French youths. Except, however, that it effected a snub of Symes, it secured nothing. On the 2nd December a communication came late at night from the *wungyis* to say that his Majesty would not insist upon the extradition of the Arakan fugitives, but that he would make no treaty, would not have a British resident at Amarapura, or a consul at Rangoon, and would give no commercial advantages. Symes never got an audience, got no answer to Lord Wellesley's letter, and after a considerable stay in Rangoon left for Calcutta on the 20th September, 1803.

Captain Canning was then sent to reside in Rangoon to get accurate and early information of French interests in Burnia, but after a few months left, because of an order from the *myowun* that all English letters were to be opened. He came back again in 1809 with presents

and a letter from the governor-general to announce that the French islands were under blockade, and that consequently no ship, Burmese or otherwise, would be allowed to communicate with them, and particularly that a ship *Burma*, which had been seized and condemned by the Prize Court, was proved to be French property. He was to inform himself about the state of British interests in Burma, and not to go beyond Rangoon unless specially invited, and was to return as soon as possible after he had carried out his orders. He was treated quite unexpectedly well, and was summoned up to the capital. For some unexplained reason, his journey took a very long time. He left Rangoon on the 21st December, but did not reach Amarapura till the 10th February, 1810. A house had been prepared for him, but when he drew up opposite it, in his boats, he was not allowed to land for three days, but as a compensation was told that a deputation from the *hlutdaw* would wait upon him. The conference took place in a shed run up for the purpose, and Canning, when he arrived, was called upon to take off his hat and bow to the palace, two miles away. The conference lasted eight hours, and had no other result than the comparatively flattering one that he had an audience of the king seven days afterwards. The king took up an attitude of good-humoured tolerance, and said that the governor-general might always consider himself to be under the protection of the Burmese monarchy, but what he really wanted was to receive an ambassador from the Sovereign of England direct.

Nothing then happened until the 17th March, when Canning got a letter from the ministers, addressed to the governor-general, assuring him of his Majesty's patronage, and hinting at the cession of Chittagong and Dacca. Canning sent this back, and said its terms must be altered. He got a reply on the 22nd. The letter was altered, but the alterations consisted in the objection-

able sentences being repeated more emphatically and offensively.

This was followed by two messages to ask what he was waiting for, so he returned to Rangoon and, when he arrived there, found that the *myowun* had detained his mails and refused to give them up till he was told what was in them. A new governor arrived and handed over the letters, and Canning forthwith sailed for Calcutta on the 19th April.

Arakan had been comparatively quiet for a year or two, but in 1811 there appeared a patriot, anti-Burman leader, Ching Byan, often referred to as "King Berring." He collected a considerable force in Chittagong, swooped down upon Arakan, cut up Burmese detachments and outpost garrisons, and even threatened the capital itself. The Burmese troops soon rallied and drove him back into Chittagong, but Ching Byan was desperately persistent and made raid after raid, and the Burmese troops repeatedly crossed the frontier in pursuit. The Burmese Government certainly had just cause for complaint, but the unhealthiness of the country, and the hill fastnesses into which the raiders retreated, made it almost impossible to watch or control them.

The Calcutta Government therefore sent the unfortunate Canning back to Rangoon to explain that the raids had been secretly prepared and suddenly made, and that the Indian Government neither supported the raiders nor had any sympathy with them. Ching Byan went on making repeated petty attacks, which were replied to by mass incursions of Burma troops. Canning was instructed to protest against these invasions of British territory, to say it was only the forbearance of the Company's troops which prevented direct hostilities, and that no negotiations could be entered into till the menace of Burmese forces on the frontier was withdrawn; finally, that the question of the surrender of the refugees must be negotiated by proper persons. Raids and incursions went on, however.

accompanied by wild threats by the Burmese frontier commander.

Bodaw Payā convinced himself that the British Government was both powerless and treacherous, so he ordered the Rangoon governor to arrest Canning. There were, however, two British warships in the harbour, and the governor was helpless, and Canning naturally refused to go to Amarapura as he was commanded to do. Eventually a new governor was sent to Rangoon with instructions to issue an order that the British mission was not to leave the country. Canning's reply was to sail immediately for Calcutta.

In 1813 Burmese envoys arrived in Calcutta and roundly demanded the extradition of all the refugees, and this was as roundly refused. Ching Byan's resources naturally dwindled, but he remained a danger and a centre of irritation till 1815, when he died. The other leaders then surrendered to the British Government. The Arakan general sent a peremptory order for their surrender, and this was curtly refused.

Up till now India had been inclined to look upon Burma as a country whose trade was desirable, but which was an uncommonly disagreeable neighbour. Notwithstanding hints from Symes and Cox, it had not been realized that the king was not only quite absurdly autocratic and vainglorious, but that he was ambitious and was becoming dangerous. Arakan, from its position, had always had relations, friendly and otherwise, according to circumstances, with Bengal, and even with Delhi, and when Bodaw Payā annexed the province Burma inherited the connection. The king's conviction that he was not only eminently pious, but a bulwark of religion and a predestined saint, induced him to combine piety and politics. Arakan gave him the opportunity which had not been available to Burma Proper, separated as it is by pathless hills and wild tribes from India.

The process began, harmlessly enough, by the dispatch of a mission to get Sanskrit books and to make offerings to the pagoda at Budh Gaya. The books were obtained, and the party returned with a learned Brahman from Benares to aid in the translation of the texts. We are not told who composed the mission, but no doubt Armenians, or "Moguls," or half-breeds, went as interpreters, and these were all violently opposed to the Company from fear of losing trade. Though the king was not inclined to receive envoys, he was quite content to palaver with humbler people. The consequence was that in 1808 a much larger party was sent, and was accompanied, officially, by several natives of India. Bodaw Payā was convinced that he was a Constantine as well as a Saul, and at Patra the mission divided. The Buddhist section went off to Budh Gaya to make offerings in the name of the king, to obtain relics, and to make a plan of the precincts of the temple and its holy tree. The rest, with the three natives of India, went on with the Constantine programme. They proceeded to Benares and to Upper India, visiting Lucknow, Delhi, Bhurtpure, the Punjab, and even Cashmere.

The reports they brought back, and a deputation from Ceylon, professing to represent that holy island, and entreating Bodaw Payā to "revive religion, desolated by foreign heretics," still further inflamed the king's ambition. In his reply he referred to "his great ancestor Asōka," and said his purpose was to follow that example. Intrigues went on steadily, and at length in 1817 the Government of India realized what was intended. Three natives of India, one of whom was a British subject, duly credited from Amarapura, were stopped on their way to enter the confederacy which the Peshwa was forming against the British Government. The overthrow of the Pindaris and the Peshwa, in the battles of Kirki, Mahidpur, and Ashti, put a stop to this danger, but the

Government of India now realized that Burma was a danger and not a mere annoyance. Still the fame of the Burmese as warriors was great and, with the Mahratta Wars on hand, the policy of long-suffering restraint was persisted in. When, in 1818, the Governor of Ramri wrote an insolent letter in the name of the King of Amarapura, demanding the cession of Chittagong, Dacca, and Murshidabad, the governor-general did no more than write, not to Amarapura, but to the *Myowun* of Pegu, expressing a hope that the audacious Governor of Ramri would be punished for his impertinence.

It was clear to even the most obstinate and ignorant that nothing could be done even from Arakan, except by sea, so Bodaw Payā diverted his attention to Manipur and Assam. From the time when Alaungpayā invaded Manipur in 1774 and expelled Jai Singh, the country had fallen into constantly increasing confusion. Brother after brother succeeded to nominal rule, by force of killing his predecessor, and the last of them, after a flight into Burma, succeeded in getting himself imposed on the country at the price of the cession of the Kubo Valley.

The state of Assam was no better. It had been conquered by the Shans in the thirteenth century, just before Kublai Khan made an end of the kingdom of Nanchao. In the intervening centuries the rulers had given up Buddhism and become Hinduized, and the so-called raja had lost most of his power to the governors of three divisions of the country, who were Hindus, called gohains, and practically exercised independent power. In 1793 the Raja Gaurinath was, in fact, driven out of the country and appealed to Lord Cornwallis, then governor-general, for protection. Lord Cornwallis sent Captain Welsh with eleven hundred sepoys to restore him, which he did. Welsh, however, had no sooner retired to India than a gohain seized Gaurinath and clapped him in prison, where he died. A puppet in the



A GUN MAKER'S VILLAGE IN THE HSAM TAO, KENG TUNG.

shape of Chandra Kanta was then declared raja. But this did not meet with favour from the other gohains. One side appealed to India, the other to Burma, and there were miscellaneous murderings; and Chandra Kanta, who was thoroughly unprincipled and as bloodthirsty as any of the rulers of that time, after first getting Burmese aid, went over to the British, who supported him, not because they thought he was worth it, but to keep the Burmese out.

This was the state of affairs when, in 1819, Bodaw Payā died. He had reigned nearly thirty-eight years, and he has a great name with the Burmese, by whom he is habitually called Mintayāgyi, the Great Monarch. His register of the towns and villages of the country is still referred to in title deeds. He constructed the Aungpinlè, the "conquered sea," near Mandalay, and made a real lake of the earlier sheet of water at Meiktila, but his ambition and his plottings paved the way to the ruin of Burma as an independent kingdom.

CHAPTER XII

BAGYIDAW AND THE FIRST BURMA WAR

THE fat *êngshémin* who had been so stand-offish with Symes and Cox had died ten years before his father, and his son was immediately named heir-apparent in succession to him. This was the small boy who was so pleased with Cox's round hat with the red and black feathers, and had sent him legs of beef, pork, and ghi, and later an electric machine and camera obscura to be mended. He was thirty-five years of age and had acquired the *Alaungpayā* haughty and headstrong manner when he succeeded in 1819, as the *Sagaing Min*, but he is commonly known as *Bagyidaw*, the Great Royal Father.

There was no opposition to his taking possession of the throne, but to make things sure he had his uncles, the Princes of *Prome* and *Taung-ngu* put to death. Symes had found the *Prome* prince simply stolid and brainless, but he had a considerable private army, and the *Taung-ngu* prince's following was turbulent and predatory. When the tall poppies were beheaded, it was necessary to destroy their parasites, so about two hundred of their officers and supporters were slaughtered.

Then a vulture perched on the palace spire, a most ill-omened event, and a fire destroyed the *yōndaw*, the water tower, and some other palace buildings, besides a greater part of the town, so *Bagyidaw* determined to transfer his capital back to *Ava*. It took four years to build the palace, and a considerable number of the townspeople moved from *Amarapura*, but there was not the

compulsory universal transference that Bodaw Payā had ordained.

Bagyidaw had been a great favourite with his grandfather and adopted all his schemes. A mission was sent to Budh Gaya, but by this time alliance with recalcitrant Indian princes was useless. The Manipur and Assam ventures were more promising. According to custom all the umbrella-bearing chiefs were summoned to the capital to do homage to the new king. Marjit, the manipkin whom Bodaw Payā had put in as Raja of Manipur, neglected to come, and an army was sent off immediately to depose him. Mahā Bandula, the general who was later to become so prominent, went with this force in the rank of *sikhè*, the rank next below that of a *wun*. Marjit was promptly expelled from Manipur, and took refuge in Cachar, where a brother of his, Chorjit, had driven out Govind Chandra, the rightful possessor, who was first refused support by the British, then went over to the Burmese, and then received promise of British backing. There was a great deal of confused fighting, made futile by the unhealthiness of the climate and the need of periodical retirements to get supplies. The Burmese commander in Manipur was told that India would not permit him to interfere in Cachar. The reply was the appearance of two Burmese forces, one from Assam, the other from Manipur. A battalion of sepoy defeated one, but the two Burma columns then united and the Indian troops had to retire. The Burmese advanced as far as the Surma River and entrenched themselves there, but were driven out. The Manipur force, however, fell back on a strong stockade at Dhudhpatli on the Barak River. They were attacked there by Colonel Bowen, with his sepoy, but could not be dislodged. Shortly afterwards, however, the Burmese retreated to Manipur on the one side and Assam on the other. This was in January 1824.

Assam had two years before this been formally declared

a Burma province. Chandra Kanta had been supplied from Calcutta with arms and ammunition, but though he got possession of part of the west against the general Mahā Thilawa, he soon had to fall back before reinforcements under Bandula, fled to Gauhati, on the Brahmaputra, and on to Calcutta. The two Burmese generals sent an imperious demand for the surrender of Chandra Kanta, which was refused, and flying columns of Burmans plundered British villages in the Goalpara neighbourhood and claimed an island, where they pulled down the British flag.

On the Chittagong-Arakan frontier, as was to be expected, there was more aggression. Two elephant-hunting parties, engaged in the Ramu Hills, were carried off and a large ransom demanded. That was a comparatively small matter in those days ; the surprising thing, in Burmese eyes, was that the British submitted to it and merely talked. They were therefore tempted to a bolder step. There is a small island at the mouth of the Nāf, close to the Chittagong shore, so close that, at low tide, it can be reached by walking through the water. It was inhabited by British subjects, but the Burmese claimed to have it as a position from which they could collect dues from boats passing up and down the river. A guard of a dozen men of the Chittagong levy was posted there. A body of Burmans, estimated at a thousand strong, fell upon them, killed three, wounded four, and apparently let the rest escape. Naturally a strong remonstrance was sent to Bagyidaw, but no notice was taken of it. This was in September 1823, and two months later, two companies of a Bengal native infantry regiment, with two 6-pounders, re-occupied Shapuri Island. The Burmese did not resist, but they openly said it meant war, and refused to discuss the matter with two English officers sent to explain matters.

Bagyidaw was arrogant enough himself, and he had a

favourite wife who was the sister of a fishmonger. This queen had all the energy and enterprise which is so much more conspicuous in Burmese women than in the men, and the fishmonger brother was capable and ambitious, and used his influence in the palace to the utmost. The three of them resolved that war was inevitable, and the ministers joined in chorus to say that the British would be as easily beaten as the Siamese and Peguans. Therefore Bandula was sent with an army of six thousand men, over the Aeng Pass to take command of the forces in Arakan. The first avowed collision between British troops and Burmese, however, was in Cachar in January and February of 1824, and Calcutta formally declared war on the 5th March.

It was clear that fighting in the swamps and jungles of North Arakan, and in the mountainous country of Assam and Manipur, would be all in favour of an enemy that could carry rice, tied in a cloth round the waist, enough for a week's food, or even longer, and could subsist indefinitely on roots and jungle fruits. Therefore the plan of campaign was merely to defend, or rather to contain the Burmese forces on these frontiers and to attack them in their own country, at Rangoon and up the Irrawaddy Valley.

There were difficulties caused by the refusal of Bengal native troops, for caste reasons, to cross the "black water." Madras had not the same objection to the sea, and therefore troops to the number of 11,500, of whom 5,000 were Europeans, assembled in Calcutta and Madras, and the two divisions had their meeting-place at Port Cornwallis in the Andaman Islands, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell. The transports were convoyed by H.M.F. *Liffey* and the sloops of war, *Larne* and *Sophia*. There were several Company's armed ships, forty transports, and one small steamer. Captain Marryat, the novelist, saw service in one of these.

Detachments were sent to occupy Cheduba and Negrais, and the main expeditionary force sailed up the river on 11th May, 1824. There was no opposition on the way up, but fire was opened from the wharf, which was outside the main Rangoon stockade. The old ships' guns there were dismounted by the *Liffey's* fire, and detachments landed and took possession of stockade and town in twenty minutes. The attention of the Burmese had been entirely directed to attack on the Arakan side, and the *yéwun*, who in the absence of the governor at the capital, where he died, was completely taken by surprise. The Shwe Dagôn, which dominates the whole neighbourhood, was occupied the next day while the remainder of the troops were being landed, and a stockade at Kemmendine, above Rangoon, was carried, after a stiffish fight, with the loss of one officer, Lieut. Kerr, of the 38th regiment, killed, and a naval officer, Lieut. Wilkinson, seriously wounded ; but the stockade was not occupied, and the *yéwun* found it a convenient place from which to launch fire rafts on the shipping, but luckily these drifted clear on account of the bend in the river. The *yéwun* ran up new and stronger stockades and, when an attack was made on the 10th June, it failed, with the loss of a hundred men. The early success had made the troops rash and contemptuous, and they attacked with nothing better than small arms. When heavy guns were landed and a stronger force sent to the attack, the position was found empty. The defenders here were the crews of the Burman war boats, who were the best fighters the British troops had to meet. Meanwhile Cheduba and Negrais had been taken and dismantled, and their commanders sent off prisoners to Calcutta and the detachments rejoined Sir Archibald Campbell at Rangoon.

The main purpose of the war had therefore begun well, but affairs were not so satisfactory on the Indian side. Mahā Bandula had gone over to Arakan, but the Indian



THE SHW E DAGON PAGODA AS IT WAS IN 1852

Government either were too much occupied with the organization of the main expeditionary force, or had trouble with the Bengal sepoys. At any rate, Colonel Shapland in Chittagong had no more than a brigade. He threw out a detachment of three hundred and fifty sepoys to Ramu, a village about thirty miles from the mouth of the Nāf, and this was supported by six hundred and fifty of the local police battalions and a vague number of Arakan refugees. Mahā Bandula did not attack immediately, but when he did, it was with great force. The Burman numbers are variously stated at eight thousand and at four. At any rate they greatly outnumbered the Ramu defenders, who had only two guns, and were overwhelmed. Captain Noton, in command, and five other officers were killed, and of the three who escaped, two were wounded. The detachment was cut to pieces and the guns were taken, but the fight had been so stubborn that Mahā Bandula did not follow up his success and, when news came of the occupation of Rangoon, immediately marched back over the Arakan Yoma.

In Assam and Cachar, operations were naturally made difficult by the rains. There was some fighting, but it was mostly reconnaissance work, and when the cold weather of 1825 began, the Burmese troops were recalled to oppose the British force moving up the Irrawaddy. Manipur was taken by a mixed levy of Manipuris and Cacharis, who were able to move over swamps and through jungle rapidly, where the ponderous British troop transport was almost at a standstill. Rangpur, which was then the capital of Assam, surrendered to the British brigade, and the two thousand Burmese there were allowed to return to their own country.

With the occupation of Rangoon, Sir Archibald Campbell was brought to a standstill. He had no transport and all the native boats had disappeared. It had been assumed that meat rations and vegetables would be easily

obtainable, but the Burmese had plenty of experience in devastating a country in front of an invader. Moreover ignorance, or foolhardiness, had taken no heed of the fact that the beginning of the rains in Burma is precisely the time when campaigning should not be carried on. The troops had to be fed on salt junk and "ship's bread," most of it bad; and land operations had to be stopped; because the men fell ill in hundreds with fever, dysentery, scurvy, and hospital gangrene.

The Burmese were not able to profit by these misfortunes. The attack on Rangoon had taken them utterly by surprise, but Bagyidaw was not at all alarmed and, stirred up by the fishmonger favourite, sent orders that the impudent intruders were to be sent in chains to Ava. The Thet-kya *wungyi*, appointed to the governorship, had been so scared that his report of the fall of Rangoon only reached the capital five or six days later than it might have done.

The Thônba *wungyi* was appointed to succeed him and reinforcements were hurried down to the delta from all sides. The new commander set about building a formidable stockade at the junction of the Hlaing and the Panlang Creek and manned it with ten thousand troops, with covering works cleverly posted. It was attacked by land and water on the 8th July, and carried by storm. The Thônba *wungyi* himself was killed and the Burmans scattered, but the operations landed most of the British troops in hospital with fever and dysentery.

Sir Archibald Campbell was therefore forced to confine his operations to the sea and the rivers. The Burmese garrison at Syriam was naturally soon turned out, and Mergui and Tavoy were taken with practically no opposition, though Mergui waited for an assault. Martaban and Pegu were taken merely by marching in when the rains were nearly over.

Bagyidaw had come to realize that resistance to the

British warships, and especially to the steamer, was impossible on the river, and therefore during the rains an army was collected at Danūbyu in the centre of the delta under the Tharawadi prince, the king's brother, and another, with headquarters at Tantabin, on the Hlaing River, about twenty miles north of Rangoon. Meanwhile, Mahā Bandula raised new forces at Ava. The *yéwun* was particularly active in attacking pickets and small parties north of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda with elusive bands.

Early in October a combined river and land force smashed up the Kyi *wungyi*'s works at Tantabin, but a party of sepoys, under Colonel Smith, came upon an unexpectedly strong stockade at Kyaikkalo, with war-boat men as defenders, and guns in position. An attack from two sides was beaten off with such effect that the column was badly cut up, and fell back in disorder. Next day Brigadier McBean moved out with a stronger force. The Burmese information was very good, and he found Kyaikkalo deserted, as well as other works six miles farther on. The king was greatly elated at the Kyaikkalo success, but the Kyi *wungyi* was relieved of his command for allowing his Tantabin stockade to be destroyed.

Mahā Bandula was appointed to the supreme command, and told Tharawadi, who was none too pleased at being superseded and hinted that the *Kalās* were awkward customers to tackle, that in eight days, he, Bandula, would eat rice in the Rangoon *yôn* and render thanks at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. He trusted to his Arakan army veterans. He began his advance from Danūbyu about the end of November, with an army variously estimated at between forty and sixty thousand men. A very considerable number of these certainly were pioneers, prepared to "dig in," to use the modern phrase, at every camping-place. Possibly his army thought that

a rabble-rush would carry them into Rangoon, but Bandula counted on the favourite Burmese method of blockade. He knew nothing about sea-power, and believed that the flight of all the population from a wide belt round the British lines would starve them out.

Reinforcements had come from Madras, and white troops from Calcutta, including a part of the governor-general's body-guard, but even with these, the strength of the European troops was no more than thirteen hundred in the fighting line, with perhaps twice as many sepoy, but there was now an efficient ration supply. Sir Archibald Campbell concentrated his forces round the Shwe Dagôn, which was certain to be the chief point of attack, and had twenty guns mounted.

The plan was quite successful. The Burmans commenced their attack on the 1st December, and ran up entrenchments from opposite the Kemmendine stockade in a semi-circle round to Pazundaung, and guns were mounted at Dalla opposite Rangoon town. A Burman force which advanced to the Royal Lake was attacked and driven off, and another sortie beat off the attackers on the north of the pagoda. This should have warned Bandula, and so should a fierce, but unsuccessful attack on the Kemmendine stockade. But the advancing of the Burmese sapping works to within three hundred yards of the pagoda north front tempted the Burmese into the trap Sir Archibald had laid. They pushed out into the open ground near the Royal Lake. Two British columns fell upon them and they were shelled by gunboats from the Pazundaung Creek. The whole of the Burmese left wing was crumpled up, their works taken, with guns, muskets, and quantities of ammunition. The Burmese centre and right had advanced simultaneously against the pagoda position and the Kemmendine stockade. They failed hopelessly, though Rangoon town was set on fire by scouts, who hoped to explode the magazines.

This was on the 6th December. Two days later the force at Dalla was driven out.

Though the attacks were repulsed, the small British garrison had been too fatigued to follow the flying Burmans, and they rallied at former stockades of the *yéwun* two miles north of the pagoda. Thilawa, the conqueror of Assam was in command here, but he was no more successful in defence than he had been in attack, and was driven out on the 15th December. He fled to Hmawbi, and Bandula retreated to Danūbyu, which he had left little over a fortnight earlier and there he determined to make a stand. The positions were now reversed.

Very little was known about Burma in these days, and there was an idea that if Burmese armies could cross over the Arakan Yoma, British troops could do the same. The march up the line of the Irrawaddy was clearly likely to be a serious undertaking. The original plan of campaign was therefore amended and a diversion by way of Arakan was contemplated. It was in any case desirable to make further incidents in this quarter impossible, so a force of eleven thousand men was assembled at Chittagong under General Morrison, at the end of 1824, and a numerous flotilla of gunboats, and armed East Indiamen carried two European regiments by sea. The whole force mustered on the 1st February in the Nāf River. Disciplined troops are tortoises compared with go-as-you-please irregulars, and it was two months before the column reached the neighbourhood of Myauk-u, the then capital of Arakan. It lies among low hills and a first direct attack was repulsed, but a flank movement and a brisk cannonade sent the garrison flying, and they did not stop till they had crossed the Arakan Range.

A reconnaissance then proved that though native forces could cross, the hills were too formidable for artillery and elaborate baggage trains, so the diversion was abandoned, but all South Arakan was occupied without

any opposition. Then, however, the troops had a first experience of Arakan fever, and before long a great part of the force was laid up in cantonments along the grassy sea-coast plains where the present town of Akyab stands. Arakan was now finally lost to Burma and gave no more trouble.

Sir Archibald Campbell had to bring Bagyidaw to terms, and it was thought that the capture of Prome would be all that was needed. Danūbyu stood in the way, and it was a very strong position. It was an old Talaing fort, a parallelogram of a hundred feet by five hundred, and a strong stockade had been built on the old ramparts and mounted with a host of jingals (swivel guns which can be easily carried about, and even fired from men's shoulders), and a hundred and forty guns of various calibres. Bandula's forty thousand men had dwindled to from twelve to fifteen thousand by this time.

There was not transport enough to convey more than eight hundred men up the river, and this column was commanded by General Cotton, with the steamer, various gunboats, and other craft, carrying heavy guns and mortars. A separate party of six hundred sepoy went to Bassein and took it without opposition. A land column, under Sir Archibald Campbell himself, marched on the 13th February. It was two thousand three hundred strong, a thousand of these being sepoy, with three hundred of the governor-general's body-guard, a battery of horse artillery, and a rocket troop. It passed through Hlaing on to Tharawa, on the Irrawaddy, and met with no opposition.

The river column set out three days later, took the Panhlaing stockades on the way and left a detachment there to keep communications open, and arrived before Danūbyu on the 5th March. General Cotton summoned Bandula to surrender, and on the sixth received a civil refusal. Civility from the Burmese had up till this been

unknown On the seventh he attacked two outer works below the main position ; the first of these was carried, but the assault on the second, which was round the town pagoda, failed with rather serious losses, and General Cotton re-embarked his men and sent off a dispatch to the land column, which by this time was two marches beyond Tharawa. Sir Archibald returned immediately, crossed the river at Tharawa in dugout boats which he found on the bank, and arrived before the Danūbyu position on the 25th March.

Reconnaissances discovered that the Burmese had numerous dugouts with tree-trunk roofing as a protection against shell fire, so trenches were dug and heavy guns and mortars landed from Cotton's boats which, after the first attack, had dropped down the river. The Burmese made several ineffective sorties, but the bombardment began and everything was arranged for a general assault on the 2nd April. Then it appeared that the fort had been evacuated during the night. Bandula had been killed in a look-out post on a pipul tree by a chance shell the day before, and with their leader gone and the previously unknown experience of heavy shell-fire, the garrison would not obey Bandula's brother, who took over the command, and melted away, leaving guns, ammunition, and huge quantities of rice behind.

The march on Prome was immediately resumed. An attempt at parley was made on the way, but Campbell refused to halt till he reached Prome, and this he occupied without opposition. Half the town had been burnt, but a hundred guns still remained on the walls, and by astonishing luck, two hundred barrels of gunpowder escaped the fire.

The rains now began, and warned by the previous year's experience, Sir Archibald Campbell determined to remain in quarters, but a flying column which failed to find a passable route to Taung-ngu, made a circuit round north

by Myedè, and saw no sign of the Burmese. If there had been river transport available the war might have been finished there and then. The rush tactics which had been so successful in the wars with their neighbours had failed, and Burman self-confidence was gone. The cultivators who had been dragged away from their rice plots and given a musket and a grudging handful of powder, made their way home again as quickly as might be when a reverse gave them the opportunity. They had not hesitated to stand up against sepoy battalions, which in those days had none of the up-country fighting races among them, and even had now and then the better of jungle and stockade fighting, but the discipline and steadiness and, of course, the better weapons, of the European troops, took the heart out of them. The Court was in a state of consternation for a time, but the respite given by the halt during the rains, the taunts of the favourite queen, and the conviction of her glorified fishmonger brother, Mintha-gyi, that submission would mean death for him, led to the mustering of another army. Levies were called for from the Shan States, and promised bounty money took the place of conscription orders. A new army was assembled at Myedè and General Cotton, who reconnoitred in the steamboat *Diana*, estimated it at between fifteen and twenty thousand strong. The Burman commander, Minmyat Bo, a half-brother of the king, was so far impressed by the novelty of a steamer that he sent down a war boat under a flag of truce to ask what terms would induce the invaders to retire. Some Burmese minister, searching for precedents, had recollected the conference near Bhamo which had ended Kienlūng's Chinese invasions and set up the so-called Decennial Mission. There was a hope that this might be repeated, and a conference was arranged at Nyaungbin-zeik, a village twenty-five miles above Prome and about the same distance below Myedè. Sir Archibald Campbell

told the Kyi *wungyi*, who represented the king, that the cession of Arakan, Tavoy, Mergui, and the Tenasserim district up to the mouth of the Salween, and the payment of two crores of rupees, would satisfy him.

The Kyi *wungyi*, was aghast, but on the ground that he must consult Ava, obtained an extension of the armistice till the 3rd November, a period of three months. Presumably he got orders, or the large forces that had now been assembled, gave him courage. At any rate towards the end of October he wrote to the British commander-in-chief that it was totally unknown to Burmese custom to cede territory, or to pay money, and the Burmese forces began to close round Promé. The main body, ten miles due north, was estimated at thirty thousand. The Kyi *wungyi* himself thought the hilly country on the right bank of the river better suited for defence and safer from attack, and posted himself there with a strong force, while eight thousand Shans, with over two thousand Burmans, were stockaded at Wettigan on the north-east.

General Campbell determined to prevent envelopment by attacking the Shans first. Two brigades of Madras native infantry were sent to engage them, and advanced in three columns. They started at night. There was probably bad guiding, and the country was jungly and sodden with rain ; at any rate there was bad co-operation, and the columns were taken in detail. Colonel Macdowell, in command of the whole, reached the Shan entrenchments in the early morning and was shot dead in an attempt to rush them, and the Madrassis fell back, with the Shans after them, to within nine miles of Promé. Somewhat later in the morning, the second column blundered out of the jungle in front of the Shan works and Major Evans had his leading company shot down, and also retreated, since there were no signs of the party under Macdowell. He was hotly pursued for three miles, and then the third

column, about midday, attracted by the firing, came up on the rear of the Shans, who were hunting down the first column. This unexpected development turned the pursuit into a flight, but as Colonel Smith could find no traces of the other two columns, he also retreated on Prome. The losses were significant: Col. Macdowell and another officer killed and twelve wounded; fifty-three rank and file killed and a hundred and fifty missing.

This was disconcerting for the General, and it so elated the Kyi *wungyi* that he surrounded a post at Padaung, and occupied Shwedaung, on the right bank, to the British rear. The opportune arrival of a detachment of the 87th Regiment put a stop to this move, and the Kyi *wungyi* was driven off.

The Burmese now drew closer in to Prome, but would not leave the protection of the jungle, and after waiting a fortnight, Sir Archibald Campbell ordered a general advance against their whole line on the 1st December. He had two thousand five hundred European troops and fifteen hundred sepoys, and was, of course, supported by the flotilla fire from the river. Four native infantry regiments were left to garrison Prome. The Burmese line was very extensive, with elaborate works and a great many guns mounted on them. The fighting, therefore, lasted for four days, but the Burmese overthrow was complete and ended with the fall of Nat-padi (the fairy rosary), a bluff overhanging the river. The Burmese scattered away to the north. The Shans made off across country to their own hills. During the operations three Shan young women had been prominent as leaders, and two of them were killed in action.

The British advance was rapid and, on the 7th December, Myedè was found to be evacuated. No halt was made, but both sides were negotiating. Thomas Robertson had been sent down as Civil Commissioner by the Indian Government, and he brought with him Raj Guru, a

Brahmin, who had been sent to Benares by Bagyidaw to stir up mischief, and had been arrested. He was now employed as a British emissary, and was authorized to communicate the British peace terms to the Kyi *wungyi*.

The British advance had by this time reached as far as Pantanago, opposite Malôn, where Minmyat Bo was stockaded with four thousand five hundred men. Negotiations were carried on in a boat moored in the middle of the river. A treaty was signed by both parties, practically the same as that proposed at Nyaungbin-zeik during the rains. A fifteen days' armistice was allowed for ratification by the king, but when this had passed, and nothing was heard from the Burmese negotiators, the armed boats shelled Malôn and when the troops landed for the assault the Burmans fled. The original signed treaty was found in the stockade; it had not been sent on to Ava.

The British march north was immediately resumed at the end of January, and Yenangyaung was reached on the last day of the month. Here they were met by Dr. Price, an American missionary, and Dr. Sandford, of the Royals, who had been made a prisoner. Price, with Hudson and other American missionaries, and a certain number of Englishmen, had been imprisoned at Ava when the war broke out, and when Bandula was killed, the Pakhan *wungyi*, who had been appointed to succeed him, sent them all out to Aungpinlè to be sacrificed to the god of victory. Fortunately for them, the Pakhan *wungyi* was himself accused of treason, and proofs of it, either real or stage-managed, were discovered, so he was sent to be trodden to death by elephants and the white prisoners escaped. Afterwards their safety was one of the terms of the suggested peace treaties.

No one higher than a second-grade Burmese officer came with Price and Sandford, and the reply given was that the British force was marching on to Pagān, and that

the peace terms were those which had not been sent on from Malôn. There was consternation in the capital, but a venturesome under-officer, named Letyathura, a *thwe-thauk-gyi*, a "great blood drinker," volunteered to raise an army of thirty thousand men and beat back the invader. The king gave him the portentous title of Lord of the Setting Sun. It was prophetic. The *né-win buyin* probably got no more than half the total he aimed at, but it made no difference. General Campbell had no more than nine hundred white troops and as many sepoy, the rest being out foraging for cattle and grain supplies, when he reached Pagān on the 1st February, and found the Setting Sun army before him. He attacked at once, and the Burmese broke and ran. When he reached Ava the foolhardy *né-win buyin* had his head cut off. Sir Archibald Campbell marched on to Yandabu, only forty-five miles from Ava. He arrived there on the 22nd February, 1826, and on the 24th, King Bagyidaw sent down the treaty ratified and twenty-five lakhs of rupees towards the indemnity. Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim became British territory. There were to be no more Burmese enterprises in Cachar, Jyntia, and Manipur, and the money indemnity was a million sterling.

The war had cost the British Government £5,000,000. The whole number of British troops that landed in Rangoon in 1824 was 3,586, other ranks. According to the report presented to both Houses of Parliament: "The number of reinforcements does not appear, but that of the deaths was 3,115, of which not more than 156 occurred in action or from wounds. Of about 150 officers, 16 were killed in action or died of wounds, and 45 died of disease. In Arakan the loss in action was none, but of the average strength of the two regiments, the 44th and 54th amounting to 1,004 men, 595 died in the country in the course of eight months, and of those who quitted it;

not more than half were alive at the end of twelve months."

Sir Archibald Campbell and the Field Force returned to Rangoon immediately, and except for the detachment left there till the indemnity was paid, all the troops were back in Bengal and Madras by the end of April. After a visit to Calcutta, the commander-in-chief returned as senior commissioner, with John Crawford, as civil commissioner. Crawford went to Tenasserim and fixed on Kyaik-kami, afterwards called Amherst as the civil headquarters of the new province, but the military remained at Maulmein.

Crawford left Rangoon on the 1st September to negotiate the commercial treaty, in accordance with Article VII of the Treaty of Yandabu, and reached Ava on the 1st October. There were delays in his reception, but nothing like those that Symes and Cox had to endure. Bagyidaw was chastened, but the Court was nearly as arrogant as ever. There was wrangling about boots, bowing to the palace, lowering umbrellas, armed escorts, and prolonged waits, but Crawford was resolute and perhaps imperative, so much so that when later the question of a British resident at Ava came up, Tharawadi said that if Crawford was sent, or any one like him, there would be war at once. Nevertheless, though he saw the king twice, and had a farewell audience in the palace, he had to take his boots off at the steps; Bagyidaw took no notice of the governor-general's letter and no reply was sent to it. At the audience a clerk read a "petition," according to which His Excellency apologized for any offence he might have committed; Crawford was conducted into the city by the south-east, the *A-mingala*, the gate of evil omen, through which funerals went out. A commercial treaty was signed, but the concessions were of the most elementary and futile kind. The envoy left Ava on the 12th December, and

four days earlier, the second instalment of the indemnity was paid in Rangoon, and the troops there were withdrawn to Maulmein.

There was an immediate rising of the Talaings, headed by Maung Sat, the Governor of Syriam. In January they surrounded Rangoon, but a sortie of the Burmans drove them off. Then they occupied Dalla and the Pahlaiing stockade, but strong reinforcements from Ava turned them out, and Maung Sat and a large number of his following took refuge in Tenasserim. There might have been a reproduction of the Arakan troubles, but as a matter of fact, this was the last effort of the Talaings to recover their independence.

Instead, there were frequent raids by Burmese bandits from Martaban across the Salween into Tenasserim settlements. Protests met with no attention, so a military force crossed from Maulmein and burnt Martaban. The Burmese were very sore about it, but were told that if they permitted incursions to be made, other towns would be treated in the same way.

In 1827 a Burmese mission went to Calcutta to obtain a postponement of the third and fourth instalments of the indemnity, and at the same time protested against the occupation of a small village near Bassein and to survey operations on the Manipur frontier. They were referred to Sir Archibald Campbell at Maulmein. They got no satisfaction, but the king granted to an Armenian, Sarkies Manook, the monopoly of all export trade, and imposed a duty on all British goods coming to Rangoon. Manook was to pay the interest on all overdue instalments, on demand made by the British Government. Lieutenant Rawlinson, who had been left in charge of British interests in Rangoon, protested and these treaty infringements were stopped. Bonds were entered into that the last instalment of the indemnity was to be paid within fifty days from the 31st August,



VILLAGE STREET VERY MUDDY IN THE RAIN

1828, but it was 1832 before final payment was made, and it is characteristic of Burmese lordly indifference that they paid a lakh too much.

Article I of the Yandabu Treaty stipulated that a British resident should be received at Ava, but it was 1830 before Major Burney, a brother of Fanny Burney, the authoress, was sent. Among other matters, he was to inquire what equivalent the Burmese would give for the Tenasserim province, which the Court of Directors considered to be unprofitable. There was trouble from the beginning. Major Burney refused to take off his shoes and refused to be received by the king on a "Beg Pardon Day." He demanded boats to leave the capital and the ministers prevented him from getting them. However, through the mediation of a Mr. Laing, a compromise was arrived at. Burney took off his shoes and he had a personal audience at which the governor-general's letter was read in proper form. Soon, however, there was bickering again. The Burmese *wungyis* maintained that Tenasserim was to be restored when the fourth instalment of the war indemnity was paid. Burney simply referred them to the text of the treaty. Then there was the question of the ownership of the Kubo Valley. The British commissioners had included it in Manipur, because an old Shan Chronicle recorded that the Sawbwa of Mogaung had ceded it to the raja in 1475. The Burmese pointed out that the Sawbwa of Mogaung had become tributary to Burma thirty-three years before that. Burney verified the fact and recommended that the valley should be retroceded, and it was. After this his personal relations with their ministers were almost human. The king professed to be disgraced by having his claim to the Kubo Valley submitted to the governor-general, but in the end Burney's tact was so great that Bagyidaw actually wrote a letter, as from himself, to the governor-general and addressed it quite properly. Major Burney

in fact came to be a personality at the Court, though the *wungyi*s did their utmost to have the residentship changed to a "decennial interchange of compliments" on the model of the settlement with China.

Except for a year in 1832, when he had to take sick leave, Burney was seven years in Ava, and his influence was entirely good. Burmese internal affairs were, however, not so satisfactory. Bagyidaw brooded over his humiliations and gradually became melancholy mad. A regency was appointed, with his brother, the Tharawadi prince, as nominal president. The real authority, however, rested with the queen, the "sorceress" as she was called in the palace, and her brother, the Mintha-gyi. There is no hereditary rank in Burma. Anyone might become anything, and in fact it was safer to be of humble birth than to inherit riches. Killing by envious relatives was so simple a matter as almost to become mere routine.

The "sorceress" had been only comparatively low in the list to begin with, but she persuaded Bagyidaw to put away the chief queen and promote her to the central palace. She was imperious and grasping, but her brother was far worse, and accented his avariciousness by a pretence of piety. The pair were cordially detested, but they had all the power, and Tharawadi realized that he was by no means safe. He therefore started war-boat racing, which enabled him to get a seasoned body-guard, and a supply of muskets. He also got in touch with dacoit leaders, of whom there were plenty all over the country, and when Mintha-gyi made an attempt to seize his palace, on the pretext that there was a robber chief there, the prince fled to Sagaing and on to Shwebo, the Alaungpayā family home, and rebelled, not so much against his brother as against the fishmonger gang. All resistance was soon overcome. Bagyidaw had reigned eighteen years in 1837.

CHAPTER XIII

THARAWADI : THE PAGĀN MIN AND THE SECOND BURMA WAR

It was characteristically Burmese that when Tharawadi rebelled, the Council of Regency immediately appealed to Major Burney to protect them and save the country from civil war. He went to Shwebo and, not without difficulty, persuaded the prince not to sack Ava and not to execute the ministers if they submitted. Tharawadi kept his word. The Mintha-gyi, the queen and their supporters were sent to the common gaol, and a notorious brigand, Maung Thaung Bo, was put in as governor of Ava, and merely warned the foreign merchants that they had better leave, for he would neither protect them nor compensate them if there were any trouble.

In May 1837, Tharawadi proclaimed that his brother Bagyidaw had abdicated, and that he was king, with his capital at Kyaukmyaung, on the river near Shwebo ; but before long he moved to Amarapura and even then did not put an end to Mintha-gyi and the sorceress. But he made one concession to ancient custom. He executed the Sekya Min, Bagyidaw's son, a young man of twenty-four. The youth was admittedly mad, but it was violent madness, not the gloom of his father. The deposed king was kept in honourable confinement and lived till 1845, just a year before Tharawadi himself died.

Otherwise the new king showed all the old loftiness. He told Burney that the Treaty of Yandabu was not

binding on him. It was not he who had been defeated and he was not going to correspond with a mere governor-general, a man who drew a salary. If the governor-general had anything to say, the Governor of Rangoon would attend to it. As to Burney himself, he was quite willing to see him as a private individual, but as a resident he would have nothing to do with him. Burney therefore withdrew the whole mission, much to the annoyance of the governor-general, Lord Auckland.

Colonel Benson was therefore sent in 1838 to be resident, with Captain McLeod as his assistant. It was nearly two months before he could get boats in Rangoon. At Prome he was told it was no use his going on. When he got to Amarapura he was forbidden to have any communications with the town and was made to establish himself on a sand-bank, which was under water during the rains. Protests that neither boatmen nor shopkeepers nor coolies would come near him were met by replies that trifles of that kind could not be attended to. The king did not object to Colonel Benson as a private individual, but as a resident he would have nothing to say to him; and the Yandabu Treaty was waste paper. Colonel Benson therefore left at the end of the year, and Captain McLeod remained in charge till January 1840. He was never received, was allowed no dealings with the town, and was told he must stay on his wet sand-bank or nowhere.

In the same year there was a rebellion in the Shan States which was put down with merciless severity, as was a small rising in the Lower Provinces. The king apparently thought this absolved him from his promise to Resident Burney, and he reverted to traditional methods. The "sorceress" was brought out of gaol and trodden to death by elephants. The Mintha-gyi and his supporters were executed in a fashion we are darkly told, "still more barbarous and cruel." The following year the king went

down to Rangoon with a very considerable force. Whatever his designs may have been, beyond ostensible piety and increasing crankiness, does not appear, but the Government of India thought it a wise precaution to send considerable reinforcements to Arakan and Tenasserim.

Gradually he became violent. A favourite pastime with him was to seize upon anyone who happened to be about, and to score out a chess-board on his naked back with a dagger; and he developed a passion for fancy shooting at his subjects from the palace which latterly he built for himself on the Madaya Stream, near the present Mandalay. Gradually he became more outrageous, and in 1845 his son, the Prince of Prome, put him under restraint. Tharawadi, however, escaped from his watchers, and the prince promptly fled to the Shan States. Another son, the Tayōk-maw prince, after a short time, confined the king again, and in 1846 he died, mad, not executed.

As soon as Tharawadi was put under restraint his eldest son, the Pagān Min, took charge of State affairs, but did not assume the royal title till his father died. His accession was marked by all the customary proceedings. The Prince of Prome had been brought in a prisoner shortly before, and he, with one of Tharawadi's queens, and all the children and relatives of the pair of them were executed. After Tharawadi's death, the Pagān Min had his own brother, the Talōk-maw prince, and his entire household to the number of one hundred, put to death, and so made all safe.

Nearly all the Alaungpayā line had kinks in their mind. Most of them had fits of ungovernable fury; others went but of their minds, either completely, like Bagyidaw and Tharawadi, or partially, like Bodaw Payā, when he imagined himself to be *Divus Badôn*, while he was still upon earth. Pagān Min is merely condemned for his low tastes. He was said to be deficient in intellect and

general knowledge, but when he is condemned for his fondness for "such grovelling pursuits as cock-fighting, bull-baiting, and sports of that kind," we cannot help remembering that such diversions, not so very long before his time, had enthusiastic admirers elsewhere. He was more like a vegetable, and as a human being was chiefly notable for his greed of money and his total disregard of how he got it. For a couple of years two Musulmans, whom the Burmese called Naung Bhé and Maung Bhien, held the position of lord high extortioners for him, and are credited with the death of six thousand persons for purposes of profit, one half publicly executed, the other half privately put out of the way. When general indignation became too noticeable, Pagān Min had these channels of revenue beheaded, but gratified popular brutal tastes by having them tortured for three days beforehand.

Provincial governors were not slow to copy the example of "graft" in high places; in fact, they had to, in order to meet the royal demands. The Governor of Rangoon was, from his position, the most conspicuous of these, and he found British merchants the most profitable victims, but in justice to him it must be admitted that his fellow-countrymen were bled just as freely. Moreover, he was throughout called by all and sundry by his personal name, Maung Ók, which, from the Burmese point of view, was disrespectful.

Still, sailor men, no doubt, referred to him even more bluntly. Sheppard, the master of the barque *Monarch*, was accused of having murdered his pilot. He proved that he had done nothing of the kind, but he was locked up, had to find security, and was fined Rs. 410. Then the governor had him arrested on a charge of embezzlement. Sheppard was acquitted by a court of arbitration, but arrested again and fined by the governor a further sum of Rs. 500. As if this were not enough, the entire

crew went to gaol; a vigorous objector was flogged and all of them had to pay money, either as fines, fees, or dues. Finally a port-clearance was refused until Rs. 50 had been paid. Sheppard submitted a claim for Rs. 10,000 compensation to the authorities in Tenasserim.

Not long after, Lewis, master of the barque *Champion*, had similar unpleasant experiences. There were two Bengali stowaways on board who brought a frivolous charge against him and he was fined Rs. 100. Then seven of his crew deserted, and before he could get them back he had to pay Rs. 250, and then got no more than four of them. When this was settled the Governor accused Lewis of murder, and said he would withdraw the charge if he paid Rs. 200. If he refused, he was to go in chains to Amarapura, and the chains were dangled before the eyes of the indignant mariner. He was obstinate, but in the end had to pay Rs. 280. A few days later, one of his mates, or boatswains, was seized and charged with embezzlement. Before he was got out and a port-clearance obtained, a further sum of Rs. 200 had to be paid. The master of the *Champion* sailed to Calcutta and lodged a claim for Rs. 9,200.

It was unfortunate for Pagān Min that Lord Dalhousie was the governor-general, but even he was reasonably long-suffering. Commodore Lambert, in 'H.M.S. *Fox*, was sent with other steam vessels to Rangoon and instructed to inform the governor that the existing treaty could not be broken in this fashion, that the British Government would not have its subjects arrested, or their interests injured, and that compensation, reduced by some hundreds of rupees, must be paid to Master Mariners Sheppard and Lewis.

The governor sent an Englishman named Spears to ask why armed vessels had appeared in the river. When he was told, he issued orders that no European, on pain of death, was to communicate with the British vessels,

but he appointed a meeting with the commodore, first at the Customs House and then at his own "palace." The English merchants in Rangoon sent sheaves of grievances to the commodore and warned him that "Maung Ôk" proposed to seize him and his party and hold them as hostages if they landed.

Commodore Lambert then sent to the king a letter from the president-in-council which had been drawn up in anticipation of this attitude of the governor. India had by this time come to look upon Burma, not as a vague danger, but as an emphatic nuisance. There was therefore no want of firmness in the dispatch. Pagān Min was told that there was a treaty and that he must respect its provisions; the governor was to be removed from the office which "he has unworthily filled"; and if these just expectations were disappointed, the Government of India would take measures to enforce its rights. A reply was to be sent within thirty-five days.

The answer came within the time limit, but it was thoroughly evasive, and other proceedings showed that the Burmese king had all the Alaungpayā arrogance. "Maung Ôk," indeed, was recalled, but the governor who came in his place brought thirty thousand men with him, and at the same time a governor, with twenty thousand for an escort, was sent to Bassein, and another with thirty thousand to Martaban.

Pagān Min was defiant, but Lord Dalhousie was a dangerous man to play with. Commodore Lambert was authorized to blockade the Burma rivers if the demands made were not complied with, and to these was now added one, under Article VII of the Yandabu Treaty, that a British agent with a guard of fifty men should be honourably received.

After the new governor had not only failed to take any notice of the commodore, but had served notices on the principal British subjects that communication with

the squadron would be punished with death, Lambert's patience wore out. A clerk was sent to inform the governor that Commander Fishbourne, R.N., and Captain Latter, of the Bengal Native Infantry, were to land with the letter for the governor. No one received them; they were told the governor was asleep; they were asked to wait in a shed used by Court litigants; official after official passed them, apparently with no other object than to show they were not going to speak to them, and eventually they had to go aboard again without delivering the commodore's letter.

No apology was offered. The governor sent on board a letter saying Fishbourne and Latter were drunk and abusive. The commodore was prompt. He seized a royal boat which happened to be in the harbour. As it was being towed down by the *Hermes*, the great stockade, which was crowded with armed men, and with a flotilla of war boats below it, opened fire on the *Fox*, anchored in front of it. The reply should have recalled old experiences. The battery was silenced in a few minutes and the *Fox*'s boats destroyed all the war craft. Another stockade on the Dalla side was foolish enough to fire on the *Hermes*, but heavy guns and rockets soon emptied it.

Commodore Lambert now took on board all the British subjects who cared to leave and went to Calcutta to consult the governor-general, and the *Serpent* was sent to blockade Bassein, while reinforcements came to Maulmein and Kyauk-pyu.

The Burmese Government was still impenitent, and through Colonel Boyle, the Commissioner of Tenasserim, addressed the Government of India. The whole blame for the situation was laid on Commodore Lambert; the charges of drunkenness against Fishbourne and Latter were repeated, and their account of the insults at the governor's house were declared to be false. All the

requirements in the governor-general's dispatch were refused by implication, and exception was taken to the strong expressions with which it ended.

This was the last sort of attitude to adopt towards Lord Dalhousie. He gave the king a final chance "to avert from your kingdom the disasters of war" and went on in haughty and imperative terms: "Your Majesty will direct the removal of the present Governor of Rangoon; Your Majesty will direct that an accredited agent shall be received in Rangoon: Your Majesty will disavow the acts of the Governor of Rangoon and express regret that Captain Fishbourne and his officers were insulted: Your Majesty will agree to pay, and pay at once, one million rupees in satisfaction of the claims of the two captains and in compensation for the loss of property suffered by British merchants in Rangoon:" and so on. No king of Burma had ever been addressed in this fashion and the only alternative to lying down under it was "immediate war," and the date fixed for compliance was the 1st April, 1852.

It seems incredible, but many Burmese believed the story put about by the Court that Sir Archibald Campbell's army was in dire straits and that the indemnity paid was to cover its return expenses and was given out of compassion. Dr. Price, the American missionary, probably out of ignorance and professional love for peace-making, and Sarkies, the Armenian, out of dislike for the competition of British merchants, had told the king and the Court tales of the huge sums of money and the great loss of men that had been the cost of the First Burmese War, and had created a belief that India could not and would not venture on another invasion.

Lord Dalhousie had given the king fifteen days in which to reply. The national tendency to dawdle—sheer petrification at the peremptory terms of the ultimatum—and ineradicable Burmese pride, left the Pagān Min no

time even to splutter his indignation. It was easier to continue his war preparations, and no answer was sent. India had expected this, and since the hot weather was at its height, and the rains were not many weeks off, troops were sent, as before, from Bengal and Madras. There were the 18th Royal Irish, the 51st K.O.L.I.'s, the 80th Staffords Volunteers, five companies of European artillery, and three native infantry regiments, and General Godwin, who had served in the war of 1826, was in command, with an expeditionary force of eight thousand one hundred bayonets. The naval contingent under Commodore Lambert totalled two thousand five hundred sailors and marines.

The general was given complete plenipotentiary powers. On the 2nd April, the *Proserpine* was sent up under a flag of truce to inquire whether the British demands would be complied with, and she was fired on.

The Madras contingent was late, and in any case it was desirable to get rid of the Burmese force which faced Maulmein at Martaban, so on the 5th April, after a preliminary shelling, a force was landed, which took it in half an hour.

General Godwin found on his return to the Rangoon River, that the Madras troops had arrived, and on the 10th April the transports moved up to the Hastings Shoal at the mouth of the Pegu River, and crossed with the flood tide next morning. The Burmese opened fire from both sides of the river, and held out against the shelling from the fleet for some time. A shell exploded a powder magazine in the chief Dalla stockade, mounted with pertinacious eighteen-pounders. The Royal Irish then landed and burnt all the fortifications on that side of the river, and the defences on the Rangoon town front were silenced. The Burmese, however, were not done with. When troops were landed on the morning of the 12th, they met with stubborn opposition from a

stockade which went by the name of the White Horse and, very much to the surprise of those who had fought in the 1826 war, strong parties of skirmishers made attacks on the flanks. Thanks to the enterprise of miscellaneous white traders, and ill-disposed Armenians, the king's troops were very much better armed, a fact which no doubt provoked the war. It was therefore eleven o'clock, and the troops had been under arms since four in the morning, before the position was carried, and then it fell to a bayonet charge. Two officers, one of them Major Oakes in command of a battery, died of sunstroke on the ground, and three other field officers, a brigadier and two lieutenant-colonels, had to be carried off. The cases among other ranks are not given.

The next day the heavy guns were not landed till noon, and the commissariat department was not able to supply rations before the sun was high. It was therefore not till the 14th April that the attack on the main position, the Shwe Dagôn pagoda, could be made. The Burmese had, of course, expected a frontal attack, on the straight road leading up from the river, and had a hundred guns mounted to defeat it. General Godwin naturally wanted to save his men and determined to make his main approach from the east, Royal Lake side. The moving of the heavy guns necessary to breach the stockades was inevitably slow, and the Burman skirmishers and some of their guns harassed the troops pertinaciously. It was therefore again eleven o'clock before the Royal Irish and two companies of the 40th Bengal Native Infantry carried the position with a rush. The defenders fled precipitately by the north and west approaches, and the latter came under fire from the ships and suffered very severely. The British losses were perhaps less than might have been expected from the strength of the position: three officers killed and thirteen wounded, with fifteen other ranks killed and a hundred and fifteen out of action.

On the warships two men were killed and an officer and twenty-three seamen wounded.

The Burmese defeat had been complete, and the whole army fled northwards, not even attempting to hold a strong stockade they had built at Kemmendine. They had driven off all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, but the villagers soon came back and brought in vegetables and other produce for sale. To prevent the losses from sickness which had been so great in the first war, sixty timber barracks, prepared in Maulmein, were set up, and the numerous monasteries and rest-houses protected the rest of the force. Maulmein was now a flourishing town, and sent abundant supplies, and hospitals on the sea-coast at Amherst received the sick.

In order to secure the whole coast line, General Godwin now went with a combined force to Bassein, where the Burmese had an army that might have threatened Southern Arakan. A well constructed mud fort seemed likely to be troublesome, but it was carried in forty minutes, and the Burmese retreated up the Irrawaddy so rapidly that twenty-six headmen of villages came in to offer their services before Godwin returned to Rangoon. These were mostly Karens who hated the Burmese as cordially as the Talaing's did.

While Bassein was being attacked and taken, a demonstration was made against Martaban. It was called an attack and the attackers were estimated to number between ten and twelve thousand men, but when a strong skirmishing party sallied out to stop their industrious firing they disappeared.

They had no doubt come from the Pegu neighbourhood, so a party, two hundred and thirty strong, was sent up there with the boats of the *Fox* under Commander Tarleton. There was a strong Burmese force and some of them fought quite well, with the result that it was rather a scrambling affair, and at one time the British boats were

seized and nearly carried off, but the fall of the Shwe Hmaw-daw pagoda, which had been strongly fortified, settled the matter, and the Burmese fled for the Upper Province. Pegu was handed over to a Talaing force which had ranged itself on the side of the British.

Commander Tarleton had no sooner got back to Rangoon than he set off up the Irrawaddy in the H.E.I.C.'s steamer *Medusa*, with some Bengal marine steam-vessels. On the way he passed some Burmese forces, notably just beyond Myanaung, that of Maung Gyi, son of Mahā Bandula, the leader in the first war. They fired on him and he shelled them back into the jungle. Maung Gyi, who had taken his father's title, had seven thousand men, apparently all that was left of the thirty thousand men that came to Rangoon and the twenty thousand to Bassein, but Tarleton was satisfied with scaring them, and pushed on to Prome. Nobody expected him there, and the governor promptly fled. Tarleton could not occupy it and only stayed four and twenty hours, but during that time he took possession of all the armament : four 32-pounders, four 24-pounders and two 18-pounders, which he spiked and sank in the river, there, when the rains set in, not far off a hundred feet deep; and as trophies he carried off three brass guns and a brass mortar. On his way down, he came across the Burmese army crossing the river at Akauktaung. He captured five brass field guns and destroyed a number of boats, full of arms and ammunition. Shortly after, the commander of the *Pluto* landed and found that the Burmese, in their hurry to get away, had left twenty-eight guns behind them. Since it was clear there was no danger of his being cut off, Tarleton steamed up to Prome again and found that the new Mahā Bandula had got to Yathé-myo the old Thāré Kettara, and had only two thousand left out of his seven thousand and its detached parties. Yathé-myo is six miles from the river and, in spite of the fact

that Bandula had no guns left, it was rather too risky to attack him with only a handful of men, so Tarleton went back to Rangoon. His month's cruise had brought in fifty-six guns, ten war boats, and some store and ammunition boats and the whole of the Irrawaddy Delta was cleared of the enemy.

Lord Dalhousie himself came to Rangoon at the end of July and, on the 10th August, summoned up his conclusions in a minute, written after his return to Calcutta : " We are masters of the sea-coast from east to west. We control by our steamers the whole of the streams of the Irrawaddy from Prome to the sea. With the exception of a few thousand men near Prome, and a still smaller body towards Martaban, no Burmese troops whatever can be heard of in the Lower Province. In the Upper Province no army has been collected. No defences have been constructed at Prome, and no force remains there. The Burmese have betrayed a total want of enterprise, courage, power, and resource. Large bodies of them retire at the mere sight of a steamer, or in the presence of a few Europeans as soon as they are landed. At the same time no sign has been shown of an intention to submit, or to treat, nor is there the slightest ground for believing that any such overtures will be made."

The Board of Directors and the Queen's Government gave the governor-general a free hand, and he instructed General Godwin to occupy Prome and to confine his operations to the Province of Pegu. Accordingly an advance was begun on the 27th September and on the 9th October Prome fell after a very feeble resistance. Bandula had gathered together eighteen thousand men in two stockades at Yathé-myo, but they evaporated after the town fell and Bandula surrendered to the British as being much safer than going back to the capital.

The Talaings, who had been put in possession of Pegu,

held it for just a week. The Burmans were left undisturbed until Prome had been occupied and ran up some strong defences in addition to those already existing. Brigadier McNeill went against them with a force of a little over a thousand bayonets, towards the end of November. The Burmese were in strong force, but the works and the pagoda were all taken in the day. The general then retired, leaving five hundred Madras troops, with two guns to hold the town. The Burmese had not retired far and the Martaban forces had never been scattered, as those on the Prome side had been. Major Hill, who was in command, was soon beleaguered and cut off from the river, along the line of which numerous parties threatened to cut the communications. A formal attack was beaten off, but the garrison ran short of ammunition and was in rather sore straits, when General Godwin, with twelve hundred men, hurried up from Rangoon. The Burmese retired to some works they had built at Kalutat, a few miles off, in the open plain, and on the first direct attack the twelve thousand of them scattered.

There were now no longer any formal operations, but there were a good many brushes with broken-up bands of the three Burmese armies which had set out from Amarapura ten months before. When Prome and Pegu fell, Lord Dalhousie determined that the war was over and drew up a proclamation and a letter to be sent to the king. The proclamation was very brief; it simply announced that the Province of Pegu had become British territory, and that any Burmese troops still in it would be driven out. The treaty proposed consisted of four articles. The first was the formal declaration, common to such documents, that there should be perpetual peace between the two States; the second that Pegu was ceded; the third that trade was to be perfectly free and unrestricted; and the fourth fixing the date of ratification.

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The letter to the king was a little longer, but wound up with the uncompromising intimation that further resistance would result in the "total subversion of the Burman State, and the ruin and exile of the king and his race."

The letter and the draft treaty were sent up-river and desultory fighting continued to go on in the delta lands. Then suddenly all the Burmese troops disappeared, whether recalled or not. There had been a revolution in the capital and Pagān Min had ceased to reign.

CHAPTER XIV

MINDÔN MIN

THE cock-fighting king, as the Burmese with their taste for nicknames had called Pagān Min, had duly followed respected custom in killing some of his brothers when he succeeded to the throne, but he had possibly not killed the right samples. At any rate he had not made a thorough clearance of the family. He himself was the son of a major, if not of the chief queen, and there were two half-brothers, the issue of what is bluntly called an inferior queen by some writers, and more, courteously a minor royal lady. Tharawadi, who is most commonly remembered among the Burmese as Kônbaung Min, had married the daughter of an ordinary court scribe. There never was any doubt about the *nan-mapayā*. She was always a half-sister, saved up for the purpose, with the idea of keeping the royal line pure and undiluted, and as often as not, illogically, had no children, and she was always the principal queen. But in the bevy of ladies in the western palace, which was the women's quarter, there were always some who were called queens and some who were not. The palace writer's daughter seemingly always was a queen with the observant, and she was emphatically so when she became queen-mother.

She had two sons, the Prince of Mindôn and another, who was habitually called the War Prince, though he never saw any fighting. Mindôn Min, like his father, Tharawadi, in his princely days before he became king and crazy, was amiable and engaging in his ways. He

had consistently denounced the war, and when he proved to be right in his disapproval, Pagān Min was first annoyed and then jealous, and then alarmed, because very many of the people said the prince had been right, and that he was well-read, pious, and intelligent ; no one of which qualities the most fulsome thought of attributing to the king.

The prince was certainly well-informed and resourceful, for when Pagān Min began to think of seizing the two brothers, they left Amarapura and had no sooner got to the other side of the Irrawaddy than they found themselves at the head of a considerable force and defeated a party the king sent after them. Then to comply with family precedents they went to Shwebo and sent a force from there against the capital. It is quite clear that the rebellion had been well planned. Mindôn Min fled from Amarapura on the 17th December, and on the 1st January, 1853, his supporters were in the suburbs of the capital. They spent three days there plundering and did not trouble to attack the city itself, though there was apparently nothing to prevent them. The English and Americans and a great many Armenians, who were classed as Christians, had been kept as prisoners on the shores of the Aungpinlè. Their custodian, the *letmaing win*, marched against the looters with all his force, foot to the number of five hundred with muskets, a couple of score Kathé horse, and two guns. There was a great deal of firing for some hours and then the Guardian of the Royal Rice Fields came back and flung all his arms into the lake. There had been apparently no casualties, and the guard went off into the city. The insurgents then made their appearance, took possession of whatever the guard had left to the prisoners and then went back to their looting. There was then no one to interfere with the nine-month-old captives, so they knocked off their leg-irons and walked off to the city too. One would have

thought that the last place to attract them, but they were acquainted with Burmese ways.

Up till this time Pagān Min had done nothing but listen to the noise. There is nothing to show whether it was the missionary prisoners or their guard that suggested to him that it might be as well to defend the city. At any rate he now closed the gates, mounted guns on the walls, and guards on the ramparts. Mindôn Min's supporters accepted the challenge and firing went on for forty-six days. During these six or seven weeks the liberated prisoners had little to do except go about taking notes. Their outside estimate of the casualties on both sides was between three and four hundred. When the Magwe Mingyi came to the conclusion in the seventh week that it was time to do something, he made prisoners of the king's chief advisers, and while the garrison was engaged on this duty the prince's partisans climbed over the wall and began to burn and destroy. They understood that and left administrative matters to their leaders. The Kanaung Mintha now formally appointed éngshémin, came up the river from Sagaing and proclaimed his brother king. It was quite a long time, however, before Mindôn Min arrived in the capital, and he was not formally consecrated king till the end of the year. It was unkindly suggested that this was because he was pronouncedly pious and did not want to sanction any massacres. He was quite confident that all that was judicious in that way would be done by his supporters. The Hlaing Mintha, one of his half-brothers, was in command of the palace guard and was killed fighting. The Pagān Min was confined in a corner of the palace and lived there for many years in cock-fighting comfort. He had a Court of his own, outlived his brother by about a year, and was given quite a royal funeral, though his nephew, King Thibaw, did not attend, on the plea that his infant son had just died of small-pox.



MAIN STREET, HSATAW : THE BAMBOO MARKS A GAMBLING HOUSE.

It is not at all clear whether Pagān Min or King Mindōn saw Lord Dalhousie's outline of a treaty first, or whether Pagān Min ever saw it at all. Probably his ministers thought it safer not to show it and certainly safer to suppress the letter from the president-in-council. King Mindōn, however, certainly saw the letter and believed it was addressed to himself. He chafed against the threat of the subversion of his kingdom to the end of his life, but he sent no reply, and he let the treaty go by default. Lord Dalhousie had fixed upon a point six miles north of Myedè, in lat. $19^{\circ} 29' 3''$ as the centre. A stone pillar was set up there, and the frontier was marked out due east and west of this point by Major Grant Allan of the Madras army after whom Allanmyo, opposite Thayetmyo, is named. The people on the parallel of latitude looked upon the survey and demarcating with callous indifference, and the change of rulers in Amara-pura gave the king an excuse for regarding it with cold detachment. It had not been his war, and he was determined that he would not be recorded in the national history as the king who signed away territory. The detail that annoyed him most was that the Mindōn district, from which he took his title, lying some miles west of Thayetmyo, no longer formed part of his kingdom.

The president-in-council formally proclaimed, on the 30th June, 1853, that peace was concluded and that Captain, afterwards Sir Arthur Phayre, was the first Commissioner of Pegu, and the king accepted the news with the same interest or want of it as those whom it did not concern at all. But though there was peace between the two countries, the new Pegu Province was disturbed for ten years. There were bands of the broken-up Burmese armies and professional dacoits all over the Lower Province, now called British Burma, and the absence of roads and the intricacy of the creeks made the suppression of them a very difficult matter. Before

long, too, the Indian Mutiny led to the withdrawal of the greater part of the troops, and made combined operations against an elusive enemy almost impossible. A body of native troops, called the Pegu Light Infantry, was raised, but it was lamentably ineffective and undisciplined, and was soon disbanded.

There was never any reason to suppose that Mindôn Min had anything to do with the dacoities and raids, and indeed the assumption of the name of *Min-laung* "embryo king" by the more notorious of the leaders was sufficient proof that they had no support from him. Indeed, all his available troops were dispatched to the Trans-Salween States. The Siamese had thought that the Second Burma War gave them an opportunity to extend their frontiers north, and they attacked Kěngtūng and got so far as to invest the capital of that State. An army set out from Burma, but before it could cover the weary mass of hills, the sawbwas of Chieng Hūng and Mōng Pu, with some aid from the Mōng Nai and other Cis-Salween sawbwas, defeated the Siamese, and they were harried all the way back to Chieng Hsen and Chieng Rai by Akha and Lahu crossbowmen. The chief Siamese generals were captured, and nearly the whole of their war material and elephants was taken.

The Shan chiefs came down to Mandalay in triumph "to thank his Majesty for his magnificence and power which had enabled them to defeat their enemies" as the native Chronicle puts it, and he made a great distribution of bounty to pōngyis, Brahmans, and poor people according to custom.

This was only six months after his consecration, and so inspired the king that at the end of the year he sent a mission to Calcutta, headed by the Nammadaw Wun, formerly Governor of Dalla, and with numerous high officials, including Mackertich, an Armenian, with the title of *Kalá-wun* (Minister for Foreigners). Phayre went

with them, and acted as interpreter at the audience on 11th December, 1854. The question of the retrocession of Pegu was raised, but met with a theatrical reply. Lord Dalhousie pointed to the flag outside Government House, and told them that as long as that flag flew Pegu remained British territory.

The king was much chagrined, and it may be doubted whether he was gratified by, or appreciated, the compliment of the return mission to Amarapura in the following year. It was headed by Phayre, then a major, and the secretary was the learned and scholarly Colonel Yule, who published a most valuable account of its doings, illuminating and literary.

The mission was housed on the same site as that prepared for Symes sixty years before. This was neither convenient nor honourable, but it was due to Burmese tenacious regard for use and wont. Two of the four *wungyis*, the officers highest in rank, and an *atwinwun* met them, and the house was spacious, carpeted with Chinese stamped felt-rugs, decorated with tubs, containing a great variety of artificial trees, hung with sweetmeats instead of fruit, and furnished with chairs, tables, and a punkah. So far from having to wait long weeks for an audience, the king said it would be granted on the first day convenient to the envoy. The delay of the presentation was entirely due to discussions of etiquette. Phayre wanted the governor-general's letter carried under a canopy to the steps of the audience hall, according to the Indian custom, and the ministers wanted the party to halt at the *yôn*, the royal court house, as previous envoys had done, and to remove their shoes there. The matter was settled by Pháyre dropping the canopy and the ministers agreeing that the mission should go straight through to the palace steps, and the audience was granted twelve days after their arrival.

The procession was quite a stage effect. After the lake

had been crossed in gilded war boats, a party of Indian sowars, seventy-five men of the infantry escort and a band, preceded the mission officers, each on an elephant with a Court official as a companion. Colonel Yule carried the governor-general's letter with the Jack flying over it. This substitute for the canopy caused some commotion among the minor Court officials and the *wundauk* remonstrated, but the envoy was firm, and the flag fluttered all the way to the palace because there was no precedent either for or against it.

There was a slight delay at the palace gates, caused by the simultaneous arrival of the Kanaung Mintha, the heir-apparent. He went in first, while Phayre's band played—another new precedent. There was no bowing to the palace spire, except by the Burmese ministers, who tried to persuade the mission officers to do the same, but were replied to in Burmese by both Phayre and Grant Allan—the latter in vigorous colloquial. All, however, removed their shoes at the foot of the staircase, though it was dirty and unswept, and in the hall they sat, not on chairs, but on a carpet. They had to wait twenty minutes before the king took his seat on the throne. The chief queen came with him and the three traditional questions were put: Is the English ruler well? How long is it since you left the English country? And is the weather favourable and are the people happy? Before this there had been two hymns chanted, one in Sanskrit by a Brahman choir, the other, a solo in Burmese, also by a Brahman and the list of the governor-general's presents were recited. The *thandawgan* who intoned, slurred over the words "respectfully offered," but was not so successful next day at the heir-apparent's reception. Phayre was prepared for it, and the unfortunate "royal voice" had to amend his phraseology,

A week later Phayre had a private interview with the king, who talked, so far as question and answer can be

considered talking, about the Mingalathut "the Burmese Beatitudes," his wish to be friendly with the British, the Crimean War, the possibility of getting a skilled person to construct a cannon foundry, and so on. Phayre said he had come to conclude a treaty and the king said he would ponder over it.

At another interview ten days later, when the palace yard was so sloppy with rain that the party had to walk stepping-stone fashion over bricks put there for the occasion, the king again began with religion and went on to history. He claimed descent from Mahā Thamada, the first monarch of all the world, and promised Phayre a copy of the Mahā Yāzawin which would prove it to him.¹ Throughout there were veiled hints that his Majesty wanted to have Pegu back again, and Father Abbona, a Piedmontese priest, who was a great deal about the palace, told the envoy that King Mindôn was definitely opposed to signing any treaty. This further appeared at a very friendly interview when the king discoursed about the elements of the human body; the relics discovered in the Bhilsa topes, part of Cunningham's book on which the envoy had translated to the *windauk*, and then sent a copy to the king to have read to him; wild theories about geology and medicine, suggested by the presence of Dr. Forsyth, the surgeon, and Oldham, the mineralogist to the mission; but not a word about a treaty, commercial or political. Phayre was told the king thought this was a question to be discussed with the *wungyis* and Father Abbona now said the king would have no treaty till there was a new governor-general. Dalhousie's pithy phrases rankled. His Majesty was perfectly easy in his manner and quite good-tempered, but he had clearly prepared all his conversations before-

¹ Phayre's dry request to be informed which of the royal cities Mahā Thamada built, was too polished a quip to be realized, and was not resented.

hand, like reputed humourists with their impromptus, and though he showed signs of raising the question of Pegu, he edged away from any treaty talk.

Phayre, therefore, had discussions with the Magwe *mingyi*, the senior of the ministers, which, however, resulted in nothing but a tiresome repetition of the assurance that there was entire confidence and great friendship between the two nations, and that it was not Burmese custom to make treaties. The king would write a letter to the governor-general, and that would "be higher and more worthy of confidence than a treaty." There it remained, and the Court view was that the friendly interviews in the palace, and the freedom with which the members of the mission went about the country where they pleased, were far more convincing than any written treaty which the people would not see.

It remained at that, and the mission left without any treaty being signed. At the final interview Mindôn repeatedly expressed a hope that Major Grant Allan, in command at Thayetmyo, and Mackertich, the *kaláwun* who had jurisdiction down to the border, would be good friends and this was the only recognition obtained of the cession of Pegu. The king's letter to the governor-general made no reference whatever to the subject of the draft treaty.

During their stay a guard of six hundred Burmese soldiery was mounted over the mission premises. This was nominally for their protection, but also, as it seemed, to prevent unauthorized persons from visiting the party. The few that managed to get in were strictly watched, and some of them were punished, probably by petty officials, and there certainly was an atmosphere of distrust. With the higher officials relations were most cordial, and the mission had a most complimentary send-off from a number of them, who accompanied the steamer in a dozen war boats as far as Kyauktalông.

The mission reached Rangoon at the end of October 1855, and in February 1856 Mindôn sent a royal letter and presents to the Emperor of the French. He had an idea that Napoleon III might influence Queen Victoria in his favour. The object of the mission professed to be the "cementing the former friendship." The head of the mission was of no higher rank than that of *nā-khan*, and it was accompanied by Manook, an Armenian, and the great body of the Armenians were bitterly hostile to the British. They were very hospitably received, lunched with Prince Napoleon and Princess Mathilde, and were assured of the Emperor's friendly feelings. This was the beginning of Burmese intriguing with France, which later was to have very disastrous results.

King Mindôn was convinced that Amarapura was unhealthy, which was a modern way of expressing the old idea of "a new king—a new capital," and accordingly old chronicles were consulted, and it was discovered that the Great Buddha, when he had overcome the five Mara, and was able to see into futurity, prophesied regarding Mandalay Hill as follows: "This hill, which was known in the time of the Buddha Kakusandho [Kawkathan] as Khinasavopuram; in the time of the Buddha Konagomano [Gawnagôn] as Wilayapura; in the time of the Buddha Kassapo [Kathapa], as Padathapuram; and in subsequent times as Mandalay, was my abode in many former existences, as an elephant, as a lion, as a stag, a quail, an iguano, and as a hunter; this spot, so fair in its formation, possesses every quality that is good, and is fit only for the abode of Kings." . . . "Thus spake the Buddha when he visited the place with his disciple Ananda. A female *bilu* heard him as he spake and worshipped his countenance, which shone like the moon at the full. In her ardour she cut off one of her breasts, and laid it as an offering at the foot of Lord Buddha, who then prophesied as follows: In the two thousand four hundredth year after

the establishment of my religion, this place known as Mandalay will become a vast city under the name of Ratanapuram [Yatanabôn] and thou," addressing the ogress, "as a descendant of the great Mahā Thamada, shalt be the King of that city and shalt have the means of greatly promoting my religion." Thus the Great Buddha, who had overcome the five Mara and possessed intuitive knowledge, like unto Sakko [Indra or Thi (n)gya], foresaw the royal city, with its moat, palace, pagodas, temples, and monasteries. Thus did Mindôn, the possessor of numerous white elephants, and celestial weapons, endowed with all the virtues and accomplishments of a King, and moreover, the subject of five distinct prophecies, become the founder of the city of Mandalay.

This is what the Royal Chronicle has to say about it. Also the king had dreams and these were laid before the *wungyis*, who consulted the heads of the monkish community, the heir-apparent, the chief queen, ancient records, and the Ceylon Purams, and all decided that a king born on a day of the week represented by a lion (Tuesday, Maung Lwin), the king's birthday, should reign and that the year 1856 was the proper year. This was satisfactory so far as it went, but there were many foreigners in the city, so to make all sure, *sanis* were taken. The taking of *sanis* is effected in this way: Certain persons are selected, sanctioned by incantation and made to pray. Then they are sent out to listen at street corners, under houses, or in the middle of any main road. When they hear anyone say anything coherent, they write it down and carry it back. All these utterances are then considered as a mass, and experts decide what the import is. Naturally it is what the king wants, and that is declared to be carried unanimously. There were, however, other formalities which were not Buddhistic. It is irksome and against human nature to be consistently religious. Moreover, ancient use and wont were against it. There

were always human sacrifices in Indo-China when a city was founded. Alaungpayā made an offering of a Talaing prince when Rangoon was founded in 1755, and his manes are still worshipped in the Sulé pagoda in Fytche Square, the centre of the city. On the 13th February, 1857, when the building of the city of Mandalay was begun, Mindôn, the conven r of the Fifth Great Buddhist Synod, offered up a pregnant woman, the Shamanist way of laying a foundation stone, and her spirit became the guardian *Nat* of the city, and the stone figures, grasping clubs, which stand at the four corners of the city walls, represent her acolytes, luckless persons who were buried there, and stand for the newspapers, coins, and what not, that more sophisticated Westerners deposit in the foundations of public buildings.

A month later Bodaw Payā's white elephant died. The censorious might have said this was unlucky, but a magnificent funeral with white umbrellas, a cremation, and the depositing of the charred bones in the Ma ā Wezayanthi pagoda, with a tomb, an image of him and his titles inscribed, did away with that, and within the year a new white elephant arrived from Hsawng Hsup (Thaungthut). He was received with bapds, dancing girls, the ministers of State, the Court, and the entire population, and the king himself, who would not stir for a foreign envoy, came to the north gate to meet him and confer towns and villages for his maintenance, a high-sounding title, and an establishment and a considerable body of officials to attend to his wants. The Hsawng Hsup chief, who had been little better than an honest farmer and a homespun-headman, was created a sawbwa. This elephant fell prisoner with King Thibaw, was taken to the Rangoon Zoo and died there shortly afterwards. Possibly this was because he missed his gold and silver vessels, but white elephants are poor, unwholesome beasts.

The king and queen went and lived in a temporary

palace at Mandalay while the main building was under construction. During this time the spire was struck by lightning. The mass of the people were greatly alarmed at this, but the king explained to all the ministers assembled in the hall of audience, that, on the contrary, it was a good omen and meant that he would triumph over his enemies. As if to prove it, there came from the monks of Ceylon, to whom he had sent offerings, return presents of a *swedaw*, a tooth of Gaudama, relics and hairs, images, models of banyan trees, monasteries, pagodas, and caves.

When the palace was finished, as it was in little over a year's time, all the native population were required to move to the new capital, but the Chinese and natives of India, of whom there were many in Amarapura, refused to leave their substantial houses, and still continue the link between the old capital and the new. The palace has been maintained and kept in repair by the British Government since the annexation, partly because it is impressive in itself, but also because it is interesting as an exact copy of the traditional form of Burmese royal palaces.

In the interval of his pious works, Mindôn Min instituted in 1861 what was called the *thathameda*. This was a ten per cent. capitation tax, levied upon towns and villages on a sliding scale. Up till this time levies had been made when they were wanted, and queens, princes, princesses, and officials of every rank and kind had had districts or towns assigned to them for their support, and drew the whole revenue for themselves. From this time on, except the chief queen and the heir-apparent, who retained their appanages, everyone was on a monthly salary. They got it intermittently, and in Thibaw's time mostly not at all, but the system had a fine air of reform.

In 1862 Pegu, Arakan, and Tenasserim were united into one province, British Burma, and Phayre was appointed chief commissioner, and in the latter part of the year

he proceeded to Mandalay and negotiated what it was hoped would be a satisfactory commercial treaty, which that, nominally accepted in 1826 at Yandabu, never had been. It was, however, rather on the lines of Dutch theories of commerce. The Government of India abolished a number of frontier duties and allowed rice to go to Upper Burma free, but the royal monopolies and a general disinclination of the Burmese to concede anything made it rather futile.

Burmese evasions became so notorious that in 1867, the Government of India threatened to restore the frontier duties, and in that year a new commercial treaty was secured by Colonel Fytche, who had become the second Chief Commissioner of British Burma. It was not all that it might have been, but it imposed a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all merchandise imported or exported, and restricted the royal monopolies to earth-oil, timber, and precious stones. It also established a mixed court for the trial of cases between British and Burmese subjects. Not only was the British resident left behind in Mandalay by Phayre in 1862 continued, but a political agent was stationed at Bhamo to watch the trade with South-West China, and a Burmese resident was appointed in Rangoon. This had an appearance of progress, but the Burmese resident never ventured to do or promise anything except express a hope that sometime or other he might get his pay.

The restriction of the king's monopolies seemed to promise better times for merchants. Till this time Mindôn had been in the habit of proclaiming that such-and-such produce was a royal monopoly and the producer had to sell to the king's agents and the trader to buy from them. The Fytche Treaty seemed to put an end to this, and it would, if it had not been that by this time the king was by far the most full-blown trader in the country. His contracts had to be met, and until this

was done there was no market for the private trader, and he had to make his purchases from the royal *fwèsa*, or brokers. Conversely, the Rangoon merchants complained bitterly that, in order to do business, they were forced to sell to these brokers, from whom alone the king's subjects were allowed to buy. Mindôn Min was genial and pious, but he sanded the sugar. He was open-handed and generous with his right hand and close-fisted with his left.

He was immovable on the "Shoe Question." Possibly he may have thought it absolutely insignificant, or he may have been afraid that after his death he would be labelled the jack-boot king in the Royal Chronicle, or the sandal-crusher. The various envoys to the Burma Court got more and more restive. They felt absurd in their stockinged feet, and when they looked at one another they were convinced that they were ludicrous. The thinner their foot-soles were the more irascible their tempers became and that is bad for diplomacy.

When, therefore, in 1876 King Mindôn sent an envoy to greet King Edward, then Prince of Wales, during his Indian tour and this party at Government House, Calcutta, wore their headgear as well as patent leather shoes and sat on vice-regal chairs, Lord Northbrook announced that Burmese custom must give way on this point; he would not write it, but they must inform the king. At the same time, Colonel Duncan, then resident in Mandalay, was instructed not to sit on the floor and not to take off his shoes at audiences. The result was that from this time on no British resident had a royal audience. All business was transacted through the ministers, the more travelled of whom went to the other extreme and offered neat brandy out of tea-pots.

The king, in the absence of foreign wars, occupied himself in pious works, watching the carving of the image of the Buddha set up on Mandalay Hill; the founding

of the Kuthodaw, the Royal Merit pagoda, where the Books of the Law are engraved on three hundred and seventy marble slabs; the holding of the Fifth Great Synod, in which two thousand four hundred monks took part and the Three Baskets of the Law were recited over a period of five months; the building of a huge pagoda of stone on the Yankin-taung, a hill east of Mandalay, which had only got about three feet above the ground on his death, and the dedication of the Atumashi Kyaung, an imposing hall, east of the city, since burnt.

There was an unpleasant interlude in 1866 when two of the senior princes, the Myingôn and the Myingôn-daing, rebelled and murdered their uncle, the heir-apparent, as well as several of the ministers and three of his nephews. They then started off to kill their father, the king, and would have succeeded but for the devotion of a handful of Court officials, who resisted long enough to enable the king to escape. The two rebel princes kept up musket fire on the palace all through the night, but in the morning the royal troops mustered in force and the pair fell back on the river, seized the king's steamer, the *Yenan Sekya*, and for some weeks plundered up and down the river, between Myingyan and Yenangyaung. The king, however, was popular and the troops remained loyal. The two rebels fled to Rangoon, where they were interned and sent on to Calcutta. They escaped to French territory, and the Myingôn-daing died in Pondicherry, while the Myingôn settled in Saigon, with a pension from the French Government, and carried on intrigues in Burma for a good many years after Upper Burma had become British territory. Most Burmans alternate the rampant activity of the nine-month-old terrier puppy with the sober stolidity of the nine-year-old cat. The Myingôn exhausted all his recklessness in his feverish youth, and plotted in middle age like a hebetudinous slug. His son tried to carry on the business as

a matter of filial piety, but was no more effective than an overfed lap-dog. Burmans do things with a rush or not at all.

On the same day that the Kanaung prince, the heir-apparent, was murdered, his son, the Padêng Mintha, fled from Mandalay to Shwebo, with a following of about seventy men. This was technically rebellion, for Shwebo was the traditional trysting-place of revolting aspirants of the Alaungpayā line. It is not clear whether he merely ran away to save his life from the Myingôn party, but when he got to Shwebo, where the family lands were, men from Tabayin, Pyinsalā, and Tantabin joined him, and contingents in support came from Taungdwingyi, Pagān, and Salé districts, also owned or eaten by the heir-apparent. The Padêng prince's supporters then marched on the capital. One party got as far as Madaya, six miles to the north of it, and another to Paleik, nine miles to the south, as well as occupying Sagaing and Ava. Mindôn was so alarmed that he contemplated flight to Manipur, but the four leading queens, and especially the chief queen, who had a reputation for astrology, persuaded him that resistance was more to the purpose. As a king he was very popular with the multitude, and troops were soon got together. The Padêng armies melted away as rapidly as they had combined and the prince was taken prisoner. He was well treated at first, confined for some months and then put to death, "by order of the *hlutdaw*." Probably Mindôn Min had said he "did not wish to see him any more," which was an allegory, or an euphemism. After these incidents the king never again went outside the palace stockade.

In 1872 an embassy was sent to the Court of St. James with letters and presents to the Queen. It was headed by the Kinwun *mingyi*. Formal notice of the dispatch of the party had not been given, so its arrival was delayed

and the mission went first to Rome and then to Paris, but when it got to London it was, according to the native chronicler "magnificently received by the Queen and Court," but nothing tangible resulted from it. Return letters were brought from the Queen, the Prime Minister (Gladstone, who got a *salwè*, the collar of the Burmese royal order) and the Viceroy of India, and these were escorted by a fleet of fifty gilded war boats and carried to the palace by a squadron of Kathé horse and many elephants. The king closely questioned the *mingyi* about his experiences, and received answers which flattered his vanity and proved the courtier-like adroitness of the *rusé* and wily Kinwun.

Treaties were concluded with Italy and France. The former was merely diplomatic; the latter was ambitious, too ambitious to be of any effect. French subjects were to be permitted to work mines for minerals and precious stones without let or hindrance. The king was very angry when he heard it. He held up the hand on which he wore the famous Nga Mauk ruby ring, which was only worn by kings of Burma on ceremonial occasions, such as Beg Pardon days or great festivals. "What is the value of this ruby?" he asked. The assembled ministers grovelled with their noses on the floor, and said with one voice that it was matchless, inestimable, above all price. "How many more are there in Our Ruby Mines? The treaty is not ratified," pronounced his Majesty.

The French National Assembly had meanwhile ratified the treaty, but it remained at that till 1884, when M. de Rochechouart proceeded to Mandalay to obtain ratification of another treaty which had been drafted in that year. The count, however, was too zealous and too anxious to please King Thibaw. He entered supplementary clauses, among them great facilities for Upper Burma to purchase arms. To this the British Cabinet raised objections and this treaty also was not ratified. Letters

were also exchanged with the President of the United States of America, but they were wordy, pious, and expansive rather than political.

During all this time, in addition to, or as a relief from his pious works, the king started factories of all kinds and bought all manner of machinery. He very early got some steamers; he turned the old war-boat craftsmen into shipbuilders under the guidance of a man from the Clyde; he set up saw-mills and printing presses; a salute of three guns announced the striking of the first rupee in the Royal Mint; iron foundries and furnaces were created and a perfectly appointed cotton mill was built on the Shwe-ta-chaung. Mindôn Min was very pleased with this until he found that it would not spin and weave fine silk as well as cotton goods, and then he turned it down. It was closed and allowed to go to ruin.

All these establishments had their European supervisors and managers, some of them capable men, and others very eager about their pay. There were also not a few adventurers, pure and simple, who studied what new toy or what wild-cat measure would appeal to the Great Lord of Righteousness. He started coal and iron mines with modified success, moderate only because the coal was lignite. He was obsessed about a hill where the shadows cast by men were green and was convinced that this showed a hoard of emeralds. Others hinted at copper, but he got neither. What did prosper were his trading corners, but that was personal and not for the State.

In his own way he was very tolerant. He not only built a school and church for the late Dr. Marks of the S.P.G., but he sent a number of his sons to be taught English there. The number of them was quite considerable. When his Majesty asked what was the best age for boys to begin learning English, Dr. Marks said "about eleven." The king ordered all of his sons aged eleven



KING MINDON ON HIS THRONE

to be sent. There were nine of them. Among them was he who was to become King Thibaw.

King Mindôn fell ill of dysentery in July 1878, and lingered on till the 1st October, when he died at the age of sixty-four, and in the twenty-sixth year of his reign.

He was undoubtedly loved and esteemed by his people. He had the quick temper of all the Alaung ayā line, and did some harsh things, but his subjects took that for granted and were astonished that there were not more of them. He was not quite half devil and half child, but he was an approximation.

CHAPTER XV

THIBAW

KING MINDÔN was rather like the average British Tommy with his dog, loading it with caresses at one moment and booting it unmercifully at another. He was grasping and he was open-handed ; he was pious and he was hasty ; he liked European things and ways, and he was afraid of offending against old national custom. He left thirty living sons when he died, and he had named no successor. When his brother, the Kanaung Min, was murdered, the king had quite a number of sons old enough to succeed, but the place of Êngshémin remained unfilled.

When Colonel Sladen was president he urged the king to name an heir-apparent, as the only way to secure the peace of the country. There would be murderings without it, as all past Burmese history showed. Mindôn quite agreed that theoretically it was the right thing, but argued that with so many grown-up sons it would be signing the death-warrant of the one chosen and setting all the others by the ears. Like a true Burman, he said there was time enough to think it over.

In the eyes of the people and of the bulk of those about the Court, there were three princes who stood out above the others, the Thonzé prince had the advantage of a month or so in age and in his mother, who was born a princess. The Mekkhara prince was an arresting figure, with a reputation for bravery and all the characteristics, especially the lofty pride, of the Alaungpayā line. The

Nyaungyan prince was pious and learned in the Three Baskets of the Law.

When therefore the king fell ill, and bazaar rumour declared that he was dead and embalmed, there was much talk of what would happen. Court and people, so far as the people presumed to have any views, counted without the Burmese woman, who is a much more energetic business-like person than the male of the species. There was the Alèmandaw, the queen of the Middle Palace. She was a daughter of King Bagyidaw, but she was only second in rank. The chief queen, the Nammadaw, was a daughter of Tharawadi, and when she died a couple of years before Mindôn, the Alèmandaw demanded the higher title. The king did not like to be piloted by anyone but himself, so he put her off with a white umbrella and a cow white elephant to ride on. That was better value than the empty title, but the other queens did not think so and they hated her and she hated them.

The Alèmandaw was a Semiramis or a Queen Elizabeth or a Marie de' Medicis. She had three daughters who had been declared *Tabindaing*. The theory of the *Tabindaing* princesses was that it was necessary to keep the royal blood pure and uncontaminated, so that the direct succession, through the half-million odd kings, from Mahā Thamada downwards, might be maintained. Therefore every king of Burma had to marry a half-sister, and the first-born daughter was always declared *Tabindaing* in readiness for a new king, and there might be several of these ladies kept in stock. This was not to enable the new king to pick and choose. There was plenty of time and opportunity for that afterwards, and it was not at all necessary that these ladies should be the issue of a half-brother and sister marriage. It was simply because in the old time of wars with neighbours a virgin princess was always an item in the conclusion

of a peace, or the cementing of an alliance, or a mere friendly civility.

The Alènardaw had three of these daughters: the Salin Supayā, or Supayā-gyi; the Supayā-lat, and the Supayā-ngè; the Great, Middle, and Little Supayās. The first went by the name of Selina Sophia among flippant Mandalay residents, and the Supayā-lat was later labelled Soup-plate by disrespectful British Tommies,

The Alènardaw queen knew that the Thibaw prince was philandering with her second daughter. It was this probably which gave her the idea of her scheme. Thibaw was the son of nothing higher than the Laung-shé, the seventh queen. Moreover that queen was grievously suspected of being too fond of someone who was not King Mindôn. But young Thibaw had learnt some slender English chatter in the mission school, and he had passed the Patama-byan monastic examination, which had greatly pleased Mindôn and convinced him that the young man—he was only twenty—must really be his son.

That, however, had nothing to do with his succession to the throne, nor had Thibaw himself any share in the matter. The Alènardaw did it all. For her the appointment of Thibaw meant that she would be queen-mother and supreme in the palace over her chit of a daughter, and over a king whom she looked upon as a softy. If any other prince were appointed, she would be a nobody at the best and, since everybody expected trouble, and she was so detested, she might very well be one of the first to be slaughtered, with endless precedents to make her sure of it.

Mindôn Min himself knew that he was dying, and knew palace custom well enough to have no doubts about what would happen. If he had been fairly strong he might have settled the question in the imperious, final, family way. But he was worn and debilitated by lingering

illness, and he decided on a compromise. He appointed the three senior princes *bayingan*, or regents: the Thonzé Min, with charge of the north; the Mekkhara, of the east, down to Taung-ngu; and the Nyaungyan, of the west, down to Myedè, each of them with a royal steamer and a ministerial staff.

A fortnight or so before his death, the princes received commands to attend in the palace. When they got there they were all arrested by instructions from the queen of the Centre Palace, and imprisoned in a building south of the *hlutdaw*. When they had recovered from their alarm, the mothers of the unfortunate princes made their way, in spite of several rebuffs, to the king. The arrests had been made without his knowledge, though the plot must have been known in the palace, for the Nyaungyan prince got a warning from some palace lady and took sanctuary in the British residency, along with his brother the Nyaung-ôk. Mindôn was too ill to be angry, but he issued an immediate order that the princes were to be released and brought before him. The king told them that the arrest had been made without his knowledge or orders, and explained his plan of regencies through the Mekkhara prince, who acted as spokesman. He dictated orders to the Treasury to advance whatever money was needed, and dismissed them with implicit orders that no prince was on any account to come to the palace without orders written in his own hand, which they would recognize.

The princes then went down in a body to the north garden of the palace, where the various queens, their mothers, sisters, and daughters had been assembled at the king's command, to bid farewell to the departing regents. The princes were all seized, manacled, and locked up. The Court ladies were confined to their own apartments, with parties of the palace guard to keep them there.

The Alènardaw queen's plot had worked well so far, and she now carried it on with the aid of the Kinwun *mingyi*. He, as envoy ambassador to London, Paris, and Rome, was looked upon as by far the most prominent minister, though the Hkampat *wungyi* was president of the council. This council was immediately summoned and a *parabaik*, a black official tablet, with the names of all the princes on it, was produced. The Hkampat *wungyi*, looked at it, and simply passed it to the Kinwun *mingyi*. He put a mark with a steatite pencil against Thibaw's name, and all the other members of the council followed his example, on the ground that Thibaw had no following and was less likely to be dangerous than any of the older princes.

The *parabaik* was taken to the Alènardaw, who kept it by her for several days before she showed it to the king. Mindôn believed that the three prince regents had set out for their charges, and he merely laid the tablets down, without a word or a sign. He had a slight revival of strength and there was great alarm among the ministers that he would find out that the princes were prisoners, but the Alènardaw was immovable and in a week Mindôn was dead.

In a few days he was buried in great state. The catafalque, with its white ropes, was drawn by the queens and princesses, and there were present the Pagān Min, his brother, and all the official dignitaries, clad in pure white. To avoid suspicion, Thibaw and two other princelings of no account, the Thāgaya and Maingtôn Mins, had been arrested with the others, and they alone of the king's sons were liberated and allowed to be present. It was noticed that Thibaw came dressed in ordinary garb, not in white, and that he came in a State palanquin and not on foot. He gave the order for burial lying at full length in his palanquin and left immediately afterwards.

The day after the funeral Thibaw was proclaimed king and married the Supayā-lat. As a matter of etiquette and to meet the views of the central queen and the Laungst.é, his mother, he was to have married the Supayā-gyi too, but it was found that she had shaved her head and become a nun. To save appearances, and because every king ought to have four titular queens, the third of the *Tabindaings*, the Supayā-ngè was brought in, and the two sisters sat right and left of him at the coronation. It may be mentioned that Thibaw's mother before long also shaved her head and went into a convent, possibly because she was afraid of the vixen queen-dowager or, according to popular opinion, because of the scandalous talk there was about her.

To begin with, the ministers, on the suggestion of the travelled Kinwun *mingyi*, established a kind of council which was to administer State affairs, and was called constitutional government. This body tried to keep control over the Treasury and that was the end of it. The two in immediate charge were summarily dismissed and the others faded away.

At first the new king's intention was not to do more than keep his brothers and the other royalties in confinement, and a large gaol for their accommodation was actually begun on the western side of the palace. The Alèndaw, and the Supayā-lat thought this weak and absurd. They urged that as long as the princes were alive there would be plotting and, almost certainly, disturbances in their ancestral districts, if nowhere else. Moreover, it was ancient custom to make an end of them and as such not to be lightly disregarded. So the building of the gaol was stopped and a huge trench was dug instead. The object of this was flagrantly obvious, and two ministers of State who protested escaped with their lives, but with nothing else. The rest thought it best to be entirely ignorant. The massacre began on the night of the 15th

February, 1879, and was continued on the two nights following. Queens, princesses and princes, and their children, down to mere infants, were bludgeoned and flung into the trench, and bands of music drowned the outcry.

Shaw, known for his Turki studies, was British resident in Mandalay at the time. He did not hear of the horror immediately, and it was the 19th before he got confirmation, and immediately wrote to the ministers, threatening to haul down the British flag and break off all relations, if the slaughter continued. The queens, mother and daughter, probably wanted nothing better, but Thibaw possibly remembered hymns and collects memorized on Sundays at the mission school, and anyhow there was the Kinwun *mingyi*, who was supposed to be an expert in the ways, methods, and policies of Western diplomacy. He was therefore ordered by the king to explain "the clearing and keeping by matter" (the massacres and imprisonment). This Minister for Foreign Affairs, as he was grandiloquently styled by pragmatcal stay-at-homes, replied with a celerity which would have amazed earlier representatives. Shaw got his reply the next day. It was as follows: "20th February, 1879: Having received and carefully perused resident's letter, dated 19th February, 1879, the minister intimates that the royal dominions of Burma, being governed by a distinct, independent crowned head should there be reason to fear a disturbance in the country it is usual for it to perform such acts as, according to its own views as to advantages or evils in connexion with Church and State interests it has a right to perform according to the custom of the State.

"Should there be a matter which will bring on a disturbance in the country, it is not proper to pay attention to whether the action to be taken thereon will be the subject of censure and blame but it is proper to act only according to the interests of Church and State.

"For the above two reasons, having in mind only the interests of Church and State, this business has been done according to custom. This is intimated in conformity with the Grand Friendship for resident to note."

This was a polite way of saying: Mind your own business. Alaungpayā, and Bodaw Payā, would have put it much more crudely.

There is not a little reason to believe that the Court was misled by some of the foreign residents of Mandalay. These were a very mixed crew. There were runaway soldiers and sailors, insolvent debtors, unlucky adventurers and worse, from Lower Burma and India, just as Rangoon had been an Alsatia in the old Company days. There was an assemblage of all kinds of foreigners from Europe, added to the Armenians and Musulmans, who had always been hostile to English interests. There were military instructors, one of whom had narrowly escaped shooting in his own country for cowardice in action; there were the managers of the various factories who did not exactly want to do any work, but did want to draw their pay, and were willing to do and say anything that seemed likely to help towards that end; there was a count who proved his title by a carefully preserved handkerchief with a coronet in the corner, and had his lands in his finger-nails, and made money by selling fruit syrups to captains of steamers; there were speculators with all manner of schemes for attracting and deluding the credulous; there was a royal trumpeter, who in the magnificent leisure, which he necessarily enjoyed, wiled away the time by alternately egging on and composing the quarrels between two fellow-countrymen, one of whom was an Imperialist and the other a red-hot Republican.

They were joint managers of a workshop which had been opened, admired, and then neglected, because some other novelty attracted the royal fancy. They had

therefore nothing to do but argue with one another as a sort of practice for tackling the Treasury officer who ought to have given them their salary. The native population was not much better. There were thirty thousand monks certainly, but they were concerned about nothing but saving their souls and passing the time. The great majority of the rest were soldiers or hangers-on of the various great men, a motley collection of thieves from Lower Burma, broken cultivators of the land, gamblers and bad characters and outlaws from all parts.

The general atmosphere was therefore not good, and it is quite likely that Thibaw was inclined to believe the cynics who assured him that there would be a burst of indignation in England and a lot of talk, but that it would all fade away and everything would go on as before. He was probably inclined to curse the enterprise of King Mindôn, who had set up a telegraph line to the Lower Burma frontier and another far into the Shaw States to Mông Nai, but he had the consoling reflection that a passenger travelling by river-steamer could often beat his own telegrams.

Shaw's letter, however, ended the butchery for the time, though his friendly offer to take charge of and remove beyond the possibility of their raising disturbances the remaining political prisoners, especially the women and children, did not receive any answer. There was some fear that the British residency and British residents generally were in danger, and most of the latter, with the more respectable Europeans of other nations, left the capital. A considerable military and naval force was therefore assembled in Rangoon in the spring of 1879. This was in reply to a demonstration by King Thibaw, which might have been due to scare or defiance. A camp was established outside Mandalay; the river forts had their caretakers multiplied into garrisons;

guns were mounted in the Sagaing and Shwekyetyet forts, the latter on the Amarapura River front; reviews of the royal troops were held, which took the form of processions—the formation was not so good as that of Labour demonstrators—round the city walls; levies were demanded from seven of the Shan chiefs; new military officers were appointed; and most startling and menacing of all, the troops received a month's pay in advance. They were an astonishingly burlesque force. Technically they were in uniform, but it was mostly cast-off tunics of the British Army, bought by the gross in reach-me-down slop shops, with the buttons and badges removed. The tin hats (real tin) they wore were national, conical helmets, with a bit of mirror glass let in to show which was the front, and if the soldiers had a plentiful head of hair the hat wagged or gyrated until it was steadied with a cloth tied under the chin. The nether garments were the usual *paso*, the waist-cloth, of all patterns and shades of colour, tucked up so as to leave the legs bare. Shoes, sandals, or nothing, depended upon the individual owner. Ten thousand of them at a time had muskets, but there was an uncertainty whether these were not passed on to another army corps when it mustered for review. Those who had bayonets kept them as steadily fixed as the Russian soldier, and the gun was usually carried with the butt behind and the bayonet pointing forward to make the man in front keep his distance.

Nothing happened, and it may be that this immunity deluded Thibaw into believing that the British Government was intimidated. The Indian Government wanted to settle commercial and political relations, to finish the Shoe Question, and generally to have a revision of treaties, but the Home Government thought otherwise. The war with Afghanistan had begun in November 1878. The disaster at Isandhlwana at the end of January 1879 suggested that the Zulu War would require all the troops

that were available. General Knox Gore, then commanding in Rangoon, said he would undertake to capture Mandalay with five hundred men, but he would need five thousand to tackle the country afterwards.

That settled the matter. No ultimatum was sent and Shaw remained on as resident in Mandalay. Some unpleasant incidents showed that the old Burmese truculence still existed. There had been some cases even before Mindôn died. Captain Doyle of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company was put in the stocks, out in the rain, for two hours, for having inadvertently walked on a part of the river embankment which was taboo. Two Indian British subjects were savagely tortured for having been out without a lantern after dark, and there were other cases. These were settled, but it was not so with what now began.

Attacks were made by coolies and others on steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla; a Madrassi merchant was practically flogged to death in prison and several members of the British residency staff were grossly insulted in the streets.

Shaw, the resident, died suddenly of heart disease in June 1879. The assistant, St. Barbe, officiated as resident for a short time, and was succeeded by Colonel Horace Browne; but early in October the whole agency, staff and establishment, was formally withdrawn. The Indian Government notified that it retained the right to send another resident, whenever it chose to do so, but as a matter of fact there never was another resident. The assistant resident at Bhamo, Cooper, the explorer of the Mishmi Hills, had been murdered by his own servant, a native of India, a short time before.

The military demonstration in British Burma and this withdrawal probably alarmed the Burmese Court. At any rate a fortnight after Messrs. Browne, St. Barbe, Phayre, and Ferris left, Thibaw sent the Myaungtha *wundauk* with a letter and presents to the viceroy.

The letter, which is dated October 21st—the residency staff having been withdrawn on the 7th—was very verbose and merely said that “the king is particularly anxious to maintain, by friendly and peaceable means, continuous Royal Grand Friendship” and that commerce should not be “interrupted and ruined.” As a matter of fact it was fairly evident that the envoy was sent more as a spy than an ambassador. He never got beyond Thayetmyo, where he stayed for six months, some part of the time being spent in the drafting of a new treaty, which was returned to him without discussion by Sir Charles Aitchison. He then sent a letter to the chief commissioner, which was so improper, both in tone and in matter, that it was returned without reply. He took back a return letter to the king which said that the proposals were quite inadequate. Thibaw showed his annoyance by dismissing the *wundauk*, who died not long afterwards.

In 1882 another envoy, with proposals for a new treaty was sent, and was allowed to go on to Simla, where Lord Ripon received the party in a most friendly way, but negotiations had hardly begun when Thibaw abruptly and without explanation recalled the mission.

In the palace the state of affairs was lamentable; the Supayā-lat was fiercely jealous. Two hapless girls, who had attracted Thibaw's fancy, were made away with. According to common talk, the king lost his temper about one of them and pursued the Supayā-lat with a spear as far as her mother's quarters, but calmed down later, and was cajoled into submission, especially as the girl was dead. Five sisters of the Thonzé prince were thought too attractive and were executed, nominally because they were said to be corresponding with the Nyaungyan prince. The Supayā-gyi was accused of plotting to poison both Thibaw and the queen, and she, and two Brahmin priests, with their attendants and

supposed accomplices, were made away with. There were others who were not so much missed. Thibaw had a number of raffish friends among the Letthōndaw, the gentlemen at arms. The Supayā-lat thought they were pandars and determined to get rid of them. Accordingly she persuaded the king that he had not taken real possession of the Golden City till he had made the round of the moat. According to tradition, four golden boxes were set upon each side of the four square walls and anyone who had a grievance dropped a petition into these. The boxes were brought to Thibaw's apartments after the circuit had been made and were found to be full of anonymous letters accusing the Yanaung and Pintha princes, and a variety of others, of treasonable conspiracy against the throne and the Government, correspondence with the escaped princes, and a series of other charges made at random. The persons named were promptly arrested, and the Supayā-lat's nagging ensured that they were put out of the way, some in the palace and some on their way to places of exile. She believed that Thibaw was much more virtuous after this.

The escape of the Nyaungyan prince from Calcutta and his success in eluding the notice of the British officials was a very awkward event. The prince gathered practically no following and never got far beyond the frontier, and what fighting there was did not amount to more than firing guns and running away. The king and the Burmese ministers, however, firmly believed that the escapade was arranged by the British authorities, and demanded the prince's extradition on a charge of dacoity. The obvious reply that it was a political venture only confirmed them in their belief, and they were still more annoyed when their alternative demand for compensation to the amount of Rs. 55,800 was said to be a case for the civil courts. Civil courts were beneath the notice of an autocrat.

At the same time secret emissaries were sent to stir up trouble in the Low Country. They met with some success in the creek lands between Danubyu and Bassein, which had always been an unruly part of the delta. On the river there were still more provocations. It might have been a land of *Räuber Ritter*. There were riotous assaults on board the Irrawaddy Flotilla steamers; a mail boat from Mandalay had its starting-gear taken away and the captain was confined by a guard of twenty armed men, quartered on board, for the best part of twenty-four hours. The ostensible reason was that the steamer might be in danger from the "dacoit Nyaungyan." Travellers and traders from Lower Burma met with consistent insolence, and occasional ill-treatment from local officials. The treaty of 1867 was flouted and monopolies were created as fancy suggested. The Mandalay workshops bestirred themselves, as they had never done before, to turn out arms and explosives; men were conscripted to carry the rifles as they were turned out, and a former Italian naval officer supervised the erection of a modern fort opposite Minhla near the frontier.

The internal state of affairs was worse rather than better. Dacoit bands, several of them in the service of ministers of the crown, preyed upon the people. There were risings in the Shan States and raids by Kachin caterans on the lowlands of the north. A force of a thousand men and more ravaged at will north of Mandalay. The Sagaing district was so full of dacoits that they sent a defiant challenge to the king's troops to come out and fight them at Myinmu. The *Wun* of Salé was attacked while he was actually sitting in court, and only escaped through his agility. The headman of Magwé, one of the main trading-ports for cargo steamers, was murdered, and the town sacked and burnt down. A haphazard band of Chinese marauders got possession of Bhamo,

and found themselves secure enough to remain in charge of it. The first Shan rising, caused by the sale of the succession in Mōng Nai to an apostate monk led, through the Burmese system of fomenting inter-State jealousies, to a confused civil war which went on till the British occupation, and ruined the hill country. The Burmese garrison in Mōng Nai was slaughtered like so many sheep. The same fate befell the detachment at Kēngtūng, beyond the Salween, except that the less unpopular were spared, because they were useful.

The Government of India could not take action without the consent and approval of the Home Government. In an emphatic dispatch authority was asked for to denounce the treaties of 1862 and 1867. The Afghan and Zulu Wars were done with, but there was the trouble with the Boers, the three successive reverses, and Gladstone was Prime Minister, with the Cocoa Press in fluent voice. The Secretary of State replied that H.M.'s Government did not gather that trade had been materially prejudiced, and considered that the attitude lately observed towards the king should be maintained for the present.

The Burmese Government, though it was portentously ignorant in itself, had plenty of advisers ready to give opinions about Western nations. The Armenians had done it for a matter of three centuries. There was a rabble of envious nationalities and adventurers who rejoiced in roguery and licence and official improbity. They assured Thibaw that Great Britain was impotent, and quoted scare-headings and snivellings to prove it.

The Indian Government had no representative at Mandalay, but consuls from Italy and France were welcomed. The king's Government went beyond harassing private traders and contested the demarcation of Manipur. They even went the length of threatening to pull down the boundary pillars and a stockade, erected by Colonel Johnston. Two separate embassies were sent to Europe ;

one which professed to be a mere commercial mission to contract new and if possible, close alliances with sundry European Powers ; the other with more ambitious aims. Neither of these missions visited England nor took any notice of the representatives of England at any of the foreign Courts. In Paris, in particular, the Burmese mission stayed on month after month, and in the course of time there were a good many conversations between Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador, and M. Ferry. The President of the Chamber quite frankly admitted that Burma wanted to throw itself into the arms of France, but said that the Republic had no intention of concluding the desired offensive and defensive alliance, or any alliance whatever of a special character. The Burmese had asked for a secret treaty and especially had demanded facilities for procuring arms, but to all this France had turned a deaf ear. It may be remarked that in 1884 and 1885 the position in Tongking, through which it was suggested that the munitions should pass, was not at all so satisfactory as to make it desirable that large quantities of arms should pass through it. The passage of arms through British Burma was forbidden by treaty, as the Italian Government informed the mission when a similar request was made at Rome, and the envoy was duly informed that two Italian subjects, employed in Mandalay, had received no pay for two years and were so voluble about it that negotiations would have to wait for a settlement of their claims.

While this chaffering was going on another massacre took place in Mandalay. As a concession to European squeamishness, it was called a gaol outbreak, but the whole affair was carefully stage-managed. There was a report that the Myingôn prince had escaped from Saigon, and was making preparations at Bangkok to join the Shan Chiefs, who had been in revolt for three years, and would have rejoiced to sack Mandalay. Also some

notorious dacoit leaders had had the misfortune to be captured, and there were misgivings among some of their patrons in the Ministry that they might talk. There were also some sorry remains of the royal family, whom there had not been time to kill in 1879 owing to Shaw's protest.

The Taingda *mingyi*, the most sinister figure in the latter Court history, had everything carefully arranged. It is not quite clear whether the gaolers had instructions to let some of the prisoners out on the understanding that they set fire to the gaol with the idea of giving verisimilitude to the gaol mutiny announcement. It is of no great historical consequence. The gaol was set fire to; the gaolers promptly opened the gates and ran away, leaving them open. The prisoners naturally streamed out to avoid getting burnt, and were met by volleys from troops who were waiting for them. Between two and three hundred persons were killed, among them two princes and a number of palace women and children. The butchery began in the gaol which stood in the inner palace enclosure, and it was so successful that Thibaw concluded to make a good job of it, and ordered all political prisoners to be killed. Two other gaols outside the enclosure made a delivery without the frills of a fire, and since the preparations here were not so complete, a considerable number had to be pursued into the city and cut down there.

A public meeting was held in Rangoon demanding the annexation of Upper Burma or in the alternative, the deposition of King Thibaw, and the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce circulated Home Chambers of Commerce to the same effect, and urged them to hustle a peace-besotted Government. In the abstract this was very correct and laudable, but the situation was not so simple as it appeared. In fact it was very perplexing, for the treaties of 1862 and 1867 were still valid, and King Thibaw was

an ally. Disapproval of the way a man runs his family affairs does not justify turning him out of house and home.

The king, however, heard all about it from his foreign advisers. He came to the conclusion that he would not be interfered with, and went on his way with a stubbornness which led to his undoing.

A M. Haas was appointed consul for France in Mandalay. There was no *entente* at the time, and M. Haas was very ambitious and very energetic. By May 1885, two heads of agreement were formally drawn up and signed in Mandalay. The first provided for the construction of a railway between Mandalay and the British frontier at Taung-ngu, at the joint expense of the French Government and a company to be formed for the purpose. The capital was to be two and a half millions sterling; the line was to be completed within seven years, and the concession was to last for seventy, at the end of which period the railway was to become the property of the Burmese Government. Interest was fixed at the light-hearted rate of ninety per cent. per annum, and its payment was secured by the hypothecation of the river customs and the earth-oil dues of the kingdom.

The second provided for the establishment, by the French Government and a company, of a bank with a capital of two and a half crore of rupees. Loans were to be made to the Burmese king at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, and other loans at eighteen per cent. The bank was to issue notes, and to have the management of the ruby mines and the monopoly of pickled tea, and the Board was to be half French, half Burmese. These agreements were to have been taken to Paris for ratification there. If they had been concluded, the French Government, or a syndicate on which the French Government would have been represented, must have acquired full control over the chief sources of revenue

of Upper Burma—the river-borne trade, for a French flotilla was to be established, the only railway line in the king's dominions, and the only route open for trade from British ports to Western China.

The contracts for these enterprises were actually made out and signed in Mandalay, in anticipation of ratification by the French Chamber, where the Colonial Party was very strong, and conversations were going on between Paris and London, when the Burmese Government took a reckless step which warranted active intervention by the British Government without the undesirable development of friction with France.

The Bombay Burma Trading Corporation is a company of merchants, mostly British subjects, which had extensive dealings in Upper Burma. The Corporation had been working the Ningyan (now called Pyinmanā) forest under three separate contracts; the contract of 1880, under which the Corporation undertook to pay the king for all timber extracted from the forests at fixed rates per log, the contract of 1882, establishing the payment of a lump sum of one lakh annually for the right to extract the inferior and under-sized timber, which the Corporation was entitled to reject under the earlier lease; and thirdly, the contract of 1883, by which the Corporation undertook to pay a lump sum of three and a half lakhs annually, from October 1884, for all timber not unsound or under four and a half feet in girth, extracted from the forests. The Burmese Government confused the contracts together; counted thousands of logs twice over; accused the Corporation of bribing the Governor of Ningyan; endeavoured to persuade the Corporation's foresters to come to give false evidence in Mandalay; tried the case without giving the Corporation opportunities for defence; issued judgment ordering payment to the king, by way of duty and fine, of sums aggregating over twenty-three lakhs of rupees, and to foresters sums totalling

about five lakhs of rupees; and dispassionately professed to have based their decision entirely on figures obtained from the British Forest Office in Taung-ngu. All logs contained in these lists were taken to be full-sized; no account was taken of the lump sum contracts, and the money totals were wrongly added up to the extent of sixty thousand rupees in the king's favour.

The king was asked by Sir Charles Bernard, the chief commissioner, to refer the matter to impartial adjudication and to suspend action. A letter was sent in reply refusing arbitration, and stating roundly that there would be no suspension of the order; also the right of the Government of India to intervene in the case was contested. At the same time it appeared that M. Haas, the French consul, was prepared to take up the lease if it were cancelled.

The opportunity to put future relations with King Thibaw upon a reasonable basis was too obvious to be missed. Accordingly, with the approval of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, the chief commissioner was instructed to send to the King of Burma an ultimatum, containing three demands, which were briefly as follows:—

1. An envoy from the viceroy and governor-general to be suitably received at Mandalay, and the dispute with the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation to be settled in communication with him.

2. All action against the Corporation to be suspended till the envoy's arrival.

3. A diplomatic agent from the viceroy to be resident in Mandalay, with proper security for his safety, and to receive becoming treatment from the Burmese Court.

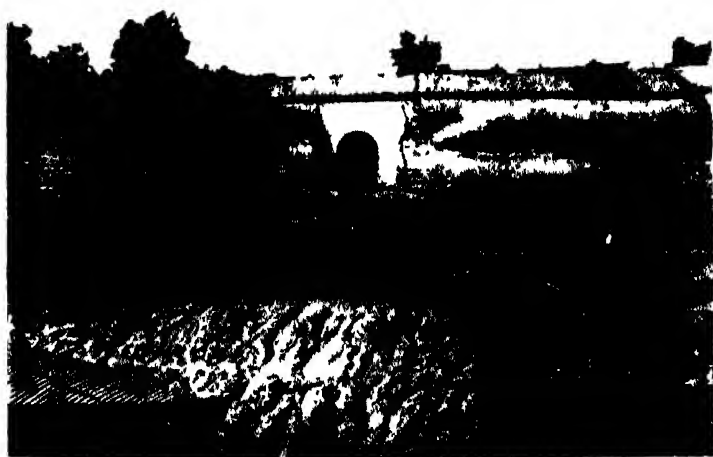
If these demands were not accepted the British Government would take the settlement of the matter into its own hands, without any further attempt to prolong fruitless negotiations and, it was added—and this was the most important article of the ultimatum—the

Burmese Government would in future be required to regulate the external relations of the country in accordance with the advice of the Government of India, and to afford facilities for opening up British trade with China. These latter demands did not, however, form an essential part of the ultimatum, but were left to be explained by the British agent after his arrival in Mandalay. Nothing more than a general acquiescence in the principle of these two requirements was asked for.

The letter conveying this ultimatum was sent by special steamer to Mandalay on the 22nd October, 1885, and the Burmese Government was informed that a reply must be delivered not later than the 10th November, and that unless the three requirements were accepted without reserve, the Indian Government would deal with the matter as it thought fit. Preparations were made at the same time for the dispatch of 10,000 troops to Rangoon.

On the 9th November, a wordy reply, plastered over with royal titles, was received in Rangoon. It amounted to an absolute refusal: the judgment in the Corporation case had been passed on its merits; if the Corporation presented a petition, his Majesty might consider it, but it was no concern of the British Government; if the British Government wished to station an agent at Mandalay, he would be permitted "to reside and come and go as in former times," but the last agent left of his own accord; as to trade with China, merchants and traders of all countries would be assisted according to the custom of the land; as to foreign relations "the chief commissioner is informed that the internal and external affairs of an independent separate State are regulated and controlled in accordance with the customs and laws of that State. Friendly relations with France, Italy, and other States, have been, are being, and will be maintained."

This was definite enough, but with it was coupled open



THE MINHIA REDOUBT, 1906

defiance. On the 7th November, three days after the Burmese minister's letter had been written, and two days before it had been received by the chief commissioner, King Thibaw issued the following proclamation :—

To all town and village *Thugyis*, Heads of cavalry, Heads of the *Daings* [the sixteen great countries], Shield-bearers, Heads of Jails, Heads of gold and silver revenues, Mine-workers, Settlement officers, Heads of forests, and to all Royal subjects and inhabitants of the Royal Empire.

Those miscreant *Kalās*, the English barbarians, having most rudely made demands intended to bring about the injury and destruction of our religion, the violation of our national traditions and customs, and the degradation of our race, are making a show and preparation as if about to wage war with our State. A reply has been sent in conformity with the usage of great nations, and in words that are just and dignified. If, notwithstanding this, these miscreant *Kalās* should come and in any way attempt to molest or disturb the State,

His Majesty [titles], who is watchful that the interests of our religion and our State shall not suffer, will himself march forth with his Generals, Captains, and Lieutenants, with large forces of infantry, artillery, elephanterie, and cavalry, by land and by water, and with the might of his army will annihilate these miscreant *Kalās* and conquer and annex their country. All Royal subjects, the people of the country, are enjoined that they are not to be alarmed, or disturbed on account of the hostility of these miscreant *Kalās*, and they are not to avoid them by quitting the country. They are to continue to carry on their occupations as usual in a peaceful and ordinary manner; the local officials are to be vigilant, each in his own town or village, to guard it against thefts, dacoities, and other crime; the Royal troops to be sent forth will not be collected and banded together as formerly by forcibly pressing into service all such as can be obtained, but the Royal troops, who are now already banded into regiments, in Mandalay, will be sent forth to attack, destroy, and annex. The local officials shall not forcibly impress into service anyone who may not wish to serve. To uphold the religion; to uphold the national honour; to uphold the country's interests, will bring about threefold good: good for our religion, good for our master, and good for ourselves, and will gain for us the notable result of placing us in the path to the Celestial Regions and to Nēbban,

the eternal rest. Whoever, therefore, is willing to join and serve zealously will be assisted by his Majesty with Royal rewards and Royal money, and will be made to serve in the capacity for which he may be fit. Loyal officials are to make inquiries for volunteers and others who may wish to serve, and are to submit lists of them to their respective Provincial Governments.

Order of the Ministers of the *Hlutdaw* [names follow]. On the 7th November, 1895, Burmese date recorded by the Wetmasut *Wundaukdaw*. Issued by Secretary Mahāmintin-Minhla-Sithu.

This was a clerical effort and it was the chief preparation made to oppose the British advance. The local officials directed their attention to criticizing the literary form of the various periods. King Thibaw arranged that fifty elephants should be assembled at Shwemagā, twelve miles north of Mandalay, so that he might retreat to Shwebo, the home town of the dynasty, whenever it seemed desirable. That was how he proposed to head his armies, and the commanders of the various armies had similar cautious views. The military department of the Government of India had drawn up the whole campaign, not a few years before, and had kept the plan up to date, so that all General (afterwards Sir Harry) Prendergast had to do was to see that lives were saved by prompt attack. The only rapid line of advance was up the river, a distance of about three hundred miles. The river channel could easily have been barred and the steamers held up by obstructions. The Burmese knew this well enough and made preparations to do it, both near the frontier, and at the Ava bend in the river. General Prendergast knew it and determined that they should not, at least, do it in a leisurely way.

The frontier was crossed on the 14th November and the launch *Kathleen*, about noon, steamed up and captured a king's steamer which had two flats in tow, intended to be sunk. These were quite intelligently prepared. Rows of stout posts, ten feet high and sharpened at the top,

were let into the decks, and would have ripped up any flat-bottomed steamer that came upon them. A few shells induced the Burmese crew, who were not even bargees, to jump overboard and swim for the shore, and the steamer and the flats were taken down to Thayet-miyo. The rapidity of the advance no doubt flustered the Ava party. They got the length of sinking a steamer, crammed with rocks, but they sank it in the wrong place.

The advance went on as steadily and uninterruptedly as was consistent with scouting, and the movements of twenty-four steamers and twenty-three flats and the operations of the three brigades of land troops. The frontier stockades at Nyaungbinmaw and Sinbaungwē accepted a couple of shells as notice to quit and proceeded to do so. The following day, the 17th, there was a brush at Minhla, where the only casualties of the campaign occurred. The real fort, on the left bank at Gwegyaung Kamyō, constructed by the Italian naval officer, Commotto, was evacuated as soon as a party of British infantry, which had made a seven-mile turning march through the jungle, made its appearance; but in the town of Minhla itself, the garrison of a nondescript sort of erection, called a fort, put up a fight. It was an awkward place to attack with small arm fire and the attackers were Madrassi troops. The Burmese had a supreme contempt for most native soldiers, and especially for Madrassis, and the misconduct of these justified it and cost the life of Lieut. R. A. T. Dury and the wounding of Major McNeill and three lieutenants. But the redoubt was taken, and after the decent interval of a year or so three Madrassi regiments were disbanded.

The rest of the advance was mostly a case of useful shell practice for the Royal Artillery and naval guns. At Nyaungu above Pagān, the garrison was out plundering the neighbouring villages, and hardly got back again in time to save their bedding and spike a gun or two. The

Pakókku garrison had gone elsewhere when the flotilla appeared on the 24th, and the same afternoon, at Myingyan, a few shells were enough to determine the garrison to go away during the night, rather than put up a fight in the morning. It had been freely announced that six thousand picked troops under the Hlethin *atwinwun* held Myingyan. A polychromatic tunic'd assemblage of spectators, estimated at about two thousand, was seen on the rising ground about three miles inland. Gold umbrellas kept the generals from being inconvenienced, and they were all gone before sunrise.

The last hope the expeditionary force had of proving that, though they might be miscreant heretics, it was not so easy to drive them into the sea, vanished, when, on the 26th November, off Nazu, a small village above Yandabu, where the First Burma War ended, a gilt royal boat, paddled by forty men, came, flying the white flag at the bow and the peacock oriflamb at the stern. The Kyaukmyaung *atwinwun* and the Wetmasut *wundauk* took off their shoes and presented a royal letter to General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen, the political officer. It stated that the king was astonished that the British wanted to wage war and wished they would stop it. He would grant everything required in the ultimatum and suggested a new treaty.

General Prendergast had his instructions and he communicated them. Thibaw was to surrender himself, his army, and his capital, and if it appeared that no Europeans had been maltreated, or plundered, the king's life and his family would be quite safe. He was to give his answer before four o'clock the next morning. In the meantime the fleet steamed on and anchored at Kyauktalôn, about seven miles below Ava.

The king was as dilatory in his reply as he had been precipitate in his defiance. It was half-past ten, and the British were preparing to land at the point determined

on for the attack on Ava, when the war boat appeared again with the same two officials. This time they brought a telegram from Thibaw, accepting all the conditions imposed the day before and ordering the commanders in Ava and Sagaing on no account to fire on the British, and to keep the troops quiet. General Prendergast insisted that the garrisons should surrender their arms. The Ava commander declined to do so without a direct order from the king. He did this because he was higher in rank than either of the emissaries, not because he wanted to fight, and he also remembered that in past times unsuccessful generals were executed as soon as it was convenient. The royal command came only just in time. Everything was ready for bombardment and attack. The Ava force were quite aware of it and most of the eight thousand men had disappeared when they were ordered to lay down their arms. Only a matter of five hundred rifles and muskets, mostly muskets, were handed over, and the number in the Commotto-built Sagaing, Thambayadaing and Shwekyetyet forts did not reach that total. All the guns were taken or destroyed and the batteries dismantled.

It was therefore ten o'clock in the morning of the 28th November, just a fortnight after the crossing of the frontier, that the fleet reached Mandalay. The steamer ghaut, or landing-place, is a little over three miles from the city and palace, and the king was called on to surrender by noon. Noon had passed when the Kinwun *mingyi* said he would come to consult with General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen.

Therefore the troops were landed, and at half-past one, with colours and bands, they marched to the city. The townspeople looked on as they might have at a Lord Mayor's Show or a circus. Colonel Sladen, who had been resident a good many years before, went to the southern gate of the city, where he was met by the

Kinwun *mingyi*, on an elephant urged to a speed which it had never known in its life before. The troops had marched by all the four main roads running east from the river and the flustered chief minister had scurried from one to the other. He entreated Sladen to go in with him alone, and to see that the troops did not enter by the eastern, or main gate of the palace, where they then were, until he sent them authority.

Sladen went with the minister through the *hlutdaw* to the main hall of audience. There the Supayā-lat and the Alèndaw queen had also hurried, after watching the approach of the troops from the top of the Bohosin, the "water-tower," and they, and the usual palace guards, who were there because it was the routine and they were too scared to do anything else, were the only spectators, except for a few flustered ministers who also came automatically.

Sladen was a very accomplished Burmese scholar, so no time was wasted through *thandawsins* or interpreters. Thibaw, like all Burmans, had perfect self-control. He tranquilly surrendered everything to the British, only begging that his life might be spared and that he might be allowed to live in Mandalay, the only town he had ever known.

Sladen curtly told him that he was a prisoner, but that he might stay in the palace that night and surrender to General Prendergast formally next day. The Hampshires, 1st Madras Pioneers, and the Hazāra Mountain Battery guarded the inner enclosure of the palace during the night and the rest of the troops marched back to the shore.

Thibaw had asked for two or three days of *grace*, but the next morning he was desperately anxious to have done with the whole proceedings, with the least possible ceremonial. Through some fatuity, permission had been given to palace women to pass in and out. When it was granted General Prendergast had objected that

the king might pass out in skirts. The ministers, with a promptitude due apparently to experience, said in chorus that that was easily prevented. The sentries would simply have to make quite certain of the sex of all who wished to pass. This was rather baffling, but the actual result was that, by the morning, of three hundred maids of honour only seventeen remained in the palace, while it was filled with women from the town who were neither maids nor honourable.

Thus it came about that when Sladen appeared in the morning he found the king distracted and the queens, mother and daughter, speechless. The women who had been passed in "all correct" swarmed all over the royal apartments, laying hands on everything portable.

There was therefore no more farce of punctilio now. Sturdy Hampshire sentries (with curtailed duties) were posted in all the royal apartments, including those of the queens, where no male had ever been before. The king, the two queens, and the queen-dowager (who latterly had taken the title of Dame of the Cow White Elephant), were huddled into a small summer-house on the skirts of the Palace Gardens, which later became the Mandalay Gymkhana Club bar. They were protected by an armed circle of privates, with large ammunition boots.

The formal surrender took place in the early afternoon. Thibaw sat on a carpet, dressed in a plain white jacket and a waist-cloth and turban, chequered white and pink. The queen sat behind him. He had a further new experience. The day before Sladen had stood over him. Now Prendergast shook him by the hand. Still he begged for a couple of days delay, but the General said he must go at once. The king had to be got to the steamer, three miles away, in daylight, and it was a problem how it was to be managed. The strong guard necessary made an elephant an impossibility. No royal prince

ever went anywhere except on somebody's back and there were the ladies; therefore they could not walk. Thibaw showed a tendency to maunder on about what he was to go in and who was to go with him, but two Staff officers, and Colonel Sladen alongside him got him started. At the Red Gate, once opened only to the royal family and the highest ministers of State, he was confronted with a dhooli. The prohibited gate was now flung open to all the world and the dhooli looked uncommonly like a stretcher. He refused to go in it, and he and the queens were provided with the Mandalay bullock carriage of those days, which were like dog-kennels on wheels and could not be got into with dignity. The 23rd Madras Infantry, the Cinque Ports (9/1st Royal Artillery) and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers guarded the party through the town. Purists noted that, though white umbrellas were held over the bullock carts, there were only eight of them, instead of the nine which were the reigning king's right. Crowds watched the party go by, with the mingled curiosity and stolidity they had shown when they saw Symes and Cox pass all but a century before, but the only demonstration was by some of the women, who wept aloud as if it were a funeral.

The sun had set before the prisoners were taken on board the *Thooreah* (the Sun), which immediately hauled off and anchored in the stream. The Alaungpayā dynasty had ended. The following morning the steamer sailed for Rangoon; the royal party was put on board an ocean boat and just the month after the expeditionary force had crossed the frontier Thibaw was a prisoner of State at Ranikhet. Later he was transferred to Ratnagiri, an old Portuguese fort on the west coast of India. There he died, almost unnoticed, during the Great War. The Supayā-lat now vegetates in a house near the Royal Lake in Rangoon. The queen-mother was interned at Mergui in Lower Burma.

CHAPTER XVI

BURMA SINCE THE ANNEXATION

THE night of the 29th November was very disturbed in Mandalay. There was nothing in the shape of a rising against the British troops. It was merely old custom, the effervescence and riot usual on a change of rulers, like an exaggerated old-time town and gown fight, or the ebullitions after a Varsity or Hospital match of any kind. Moreover, the women the night before had had fine pickings in the palace, and the men thought it was their turn. There were hundreds of disbanded soldiers in the city, and a great many of these were temperamentally, and not a few actually, dacoits. There was also plenty of scum among the regular inhabitants, and they set out to loot. There was promiscuous firing all over the town, and British troops were marched to various important points, and particularly to the houses of Europeans, including the French and Italian consuls. Some ill-advised scallywags were foolish enough to fire on a party of Madras Infantry, but a few volleys of sections convinced them that this was not only dangerous, but was an outrageous waste of opportunity. The more methodical stole a celebrated diamond from the forehead of the great image of the Buddha in the Incomparable Monastery, and others carried off a scarcely less notable brilliant and a magnificently bejewelled necklace, from the Mahā Myatmuni, the Arakan temple. All this was a foreshadowing of what was to come in the country at large.

The suddenness of the collapse of Thibaw and his

Government was an embarrassment. Prendergast had been instructed to occupy Mandalay and dethrone the king, and he did it with such rapidity that what was to follow had not been decided upon. There was a Cabinet crisis at home and that interested out-going and in-coming ministers more than what to do with Burma. As a preliminary, and in order to enable Government to be carried on, a proclamation was issued on the 1st December, notifying that King Thibaw had surrendered, was dethroned and deported, and that General Prendergast would provisionally carry on the administration, in consultation with what members of the *hlutdaw* were not impossible. The most prominent of them, the Taingda *mingyi*, organizer of massacres and dacoit bands, was deported to Cuttack. Those chosen and prepared to save, were two *mingyis*, four *atwinwuns*, and seven *wundauks*, who were useful as sources of information but otherwise determined to do, nothing to compromise themselves. On the 15th December Sir Charles Bernard, the Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma, arrived in Mandalay and assumed charge of the civil administration, with his headquarters in the palace. He was opposed to annexation and possibly helped to delay final decision. There was theoretical and bewildered discussion as to whether Upper Burma should become a buffer State like Afghanistan, a State in subordinate union, like many of the native States of India, or whether a minor, a grandson of King Mindôn, should be put in and the country administered for him by British officers until he came of age. The thoroughness of King Thibaw's extermination of his relations made this nearly impossible. The Nyaung-yan was dead ; his brother, the Nyaung-ôk, had been cordially detested in his own country and was also dead ; the Myingôn had killed his uncle and tried to kill his father, and moreover was under French protection ; the infants were few and not more distinctive than infants usually are.

Therefore, on the 1st January, 1886, by proclamation of the viceroy, Upper Burma was declared to be part of her Majesty's dominions, under the direct administration of the governor-general. Lord Dufferin and Lord Roberts came to Mandalay in February to investigate and consider the question. The *hlutdaw* was naturally consulted and a contemplation of the members and their views very soon decided the problem. It would not have been fair to Burma to leave the administration to their abilities and methods.

Consequently it was finally resolved to incorporate Upper Burma in British India and this was effected by command of her Majesty, with reference to the statute 21 and 22 Vic. c. 106. From the 1st March, 1886 the Upper Province was constituted a scheduled district under the statute 33 Vic. c. 3. The *hlutdaw* ceased to exist as a council of State, and the building itself, which was imposing, was converted into a timbered-off rabbit warren of copying clerks and writers. A few of the ministers were retained as advisers to the chief commissioner, but more as a justification for granting them pensions than for any other reason.

In the meanwhile, a column had marched up the line of what is now the Rangoon-Mandalay railway, and had occupied Pyinmanā, then called Ningyan, Yamèthin, and Hlaingdet. A flotilla had also steamed up to Bhamo and enabled its natural population, an extraordinarily mixed one, to come back, since the Chinese brigands had gone off to Yün-nan. At the same time Shwebo and Mogaung had also been occupied by force of going there.

Three months had passed during which the Government was purely provisional, vested first in the military, then in the chief commissioner of British Burma, and then from the 1st January in the viceroy. The campaigning season had gone, and all that had been done was to check

the prevailing lawlessness, rather than to stamp it out. In any case 10,500 men were nothing like enough to occupy a country covering well over a hundred thousand square miles, with liabilities over as much more in the Shan States and the Chin and Kachin Hills. It was clear that large reinforcements were necessary, for disorder was not confined to Upper Burma. In the Shwegyin district of Lower Burma, a Shan monk, called the Mayan Kyaung Pôngyi, started quite unholy mischief, hustling about in a career of bloodshed and burning, professed to be on a mandate from King Thibaw; and others, who did not profess to be anything but plain dacoits, gave much trouble in the delta.

In Upper Burma the situation was inevitably very much worse. Bands of men ordered out for the defence of the kingdom had hardly assembled before the king was deported. The very suddenness of his overthrow made peace impossible. The levies became technical rebels almost as soon as they fancied themselves to be soldiers. They had mustered to fight for their king, but before they could fight, there was no king left to fight for and, according to immemorial ideas, their very gathering constituted a revolution and rendered them liable to punishment by the new Government, whatever it might be, and news about this was slow in getting about. There were also shoals of officials cast adrift and conscious of very bad personal records.

In addition there were not a few pretenders to the throne and these easily rallied round them the *ahmudan*, the troops that had been disbanded, but not disarmed at Ava, Mandalay, and elsewhere.

The Myinsaing prince was the only active pretender who was of any real importance. He was a son of Mindôn Min by one of the minor queens (actually a queen, not a mere chance attraction, but only about third grade).

Probably this insignificance saved his life when Thibaw

was thinning out his relations, this and his youth, for the Myinsaing was only seventeen at the time of the annexation. The youth himself was listless and shilly-shally, like his half-brother Thibaw, but his undoubted royal blood attracted a number of ex-officials, chief among whom was the *Anauk Windawhmu*, Warden of the Western Gate. He was established first at Zibingyi, where there is now a railway station on the line to Maymyo, the hot-weather station of Government. From there issued in the prince's name the offer of two thousand rupees reward for the head of Bernard, the chief commissioner. This was melodrama, but the murder of three timber traders, Walker, Mabert, and Calogreedy at Paleik was tragedy, added to the discovery near the prince's camp of the mutilated body of a fourth, Gray of the Bombay Burma Corporation. From Zibingyi, camp was shifted to Kyauksè, the richest district in Upper Burma and the prince was gradually pushed back until he found refuge at Ywangan a small State in the Shan Hills at the head of the picturesque Natteik Pass. There the prince got fever and died in August. His following quarrelled, murdered the Ywangan Myosa, the chief of the State, and dispersed, some over the Shan States, some in the plains, all of them carrying on dacoities and murders in the prince's name, though it was perfectly well known that he was dead.

There was also the Myingôn prince, but he was far away in Saigon and did most of his work by letter; "royal orders," and bogus, or promised decorations, but though he did nothing active, he was for quite a number of years a source of annoyance, a person to be watched, and the subject of multitudinous cipher telegrams. There was indeed an outbreak in Mandalay in April 1886, by persons who said they were adherents of the Myingôn. This, however, rested on nothing better than their own assertion, and was probably prompted

by a conviction that it was better to be charged as plotters than as commonplace robbers. The main party numbered no more than thirty or forty, but there were confederates, and plenty of independent evil-doers, who were not going to miss any opportunity. It was hardly fair to call it an outbreak, except for the audacity of the attempt. An attack was made on a police station; several of the police were hacked to pieces, a harmless army apothecary on his way to the hospital was cut down and some houses were set fire to in the city itself, which led to emulation in various quarters. In native times this would probably have implied a revolution. As it was the thousand British troops there were in Mandalay displayed such immediate and surprising activity, with parties tearing all over the town and suburbs, that the most enterprising never were tempted to try anything of the kind in Mandalay again.

In the districts, however, it was a very different matter. There was a bewildering multitude of leaders, some of them possibly patriots, some of them ambitious, some sheer bandits. Away from the river, and beyond the outskirts of the larger settlements—there were none that could be called towns—the country was entirely in the hand of what, for want of a better name, were called the dacoits.

The Chaungwa princes, so-called from the village of that name in the Ava district, Saw Yan Naing, and Saw Yan Baing, were of remote royal blood. They were grandchildren of the Mekkhara prince massacred by Thibaw in 1879, and had the honorary title of Teiktin (Top of the Head). These princelets did not take the field themselves, but their fighting leaders, notably Shwe Yan, a professional dacoit, gave a great deal of trouble for many months. Eventually the two retreated over the frontier into China, but as late as 1922 engineered a raid in the Sèlan-Namhkam neighbourhood, when a

good deal of mischief was done. The party was mostly composed of Kachin freebooters and they suffered severely. Other Teiktin were Maung Hmat and Maung Thein, cousins of King Thibaw, who escaped from Mandalay and raised a following in the Shwebo and Ye-u country, which became simply predatory, when Maung Hmat, who was a son of the "War Prince," murdered by the Myingôn in 1866, was killed in action, while his brother died of fever.

A less troublesome figure was the Limbin prince, also a son of the Yanaung Mintha, by a fascinating rather than an important wife. He escaped the 1879 massacre in girl's skirts and was appointed a subordinate executive officer in Lower Burma, but had to be removed for neglect of his duties. When the war broke out he went up to the Shan States to take up the cause of some of the chiefs, who had been driven from their territories. He called it supporting the British Government, but a confederacy was formed and its members swore allegiance to the young man as a claimant to the throne of Burma. Several important sawbwas remained outside of the league and these were attacked and their States ravaged to provide funds, and to assert the claims of their president. When, however, a British column went up in 1887 to assert suzerain rights, the prince, after a little persuasion, renounced his claims in consideration of an allowance, handed over his flag, and was sent to Calcutta.

Other princes were self-styled. There was the Kyimyindaing, who was a nobody flogged in Thibaw's times for misdemeanours. The Kyun-nyo Mintha was another impostor, but he was soon murdered by an energetic and professional fellow-dacoit. The Shwegyobu prince had been a Government vaccinator in Lower Burma. There were manifest adventurers and charlatans in the Buddha Yaza, the Thinga Yaza, the Dhamma Yaza, the Buddha King, the Kings of the Holy Assembly

and the Law, and a still more enterprising gull-catcher in the Sekya Mintha, the Prince of the Celestial line. There were also a number of Pôngyi Bos, monkish leaders who claimed to be defending religion. The most notable of these were the Mayankyaung Pôngyi, already referred to, U Ôktama, who at one time held practically the whole of the Minbu district, and U Parama.

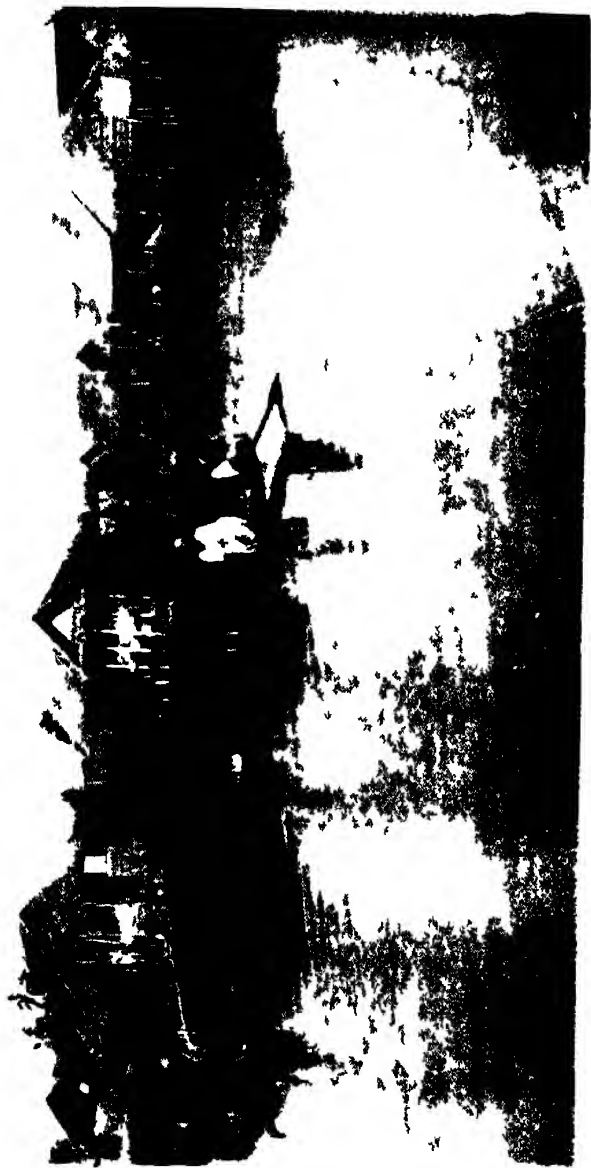
To these were added a number of ex-officials who perhaps genuinely believed that they were defending their country. The most prominent were Hkan Hlaing, who had been Myosa of Mohlaing, the Anauk Windawhmu, U Paung, Commander of the Western Gate, the Lè Wun, Director of Agriculture in Yamèthin, Kyaw Gaung, ex-Governor of Talôkmyo, the Theingôn Thugyi, Maung Gyi and Myat Hmôn, who had been cavalry officers, and a great many more. In fact for a time, each little group of villages elected its own *Bo* as a leader to defend it from its neighbours or to attack them. They preyed on villages which had submitted to us and on rival *Bos'* villages with perfect impartiality, and except some few, who like Maung Gyi, submitted early and were appointed constables in the British service, became the perpetually renewed dacoit leaders, whom it took three years to suppress.

These rebels, or fancied patriots, were not nearly so formidable as those who had been brigands in the time of King Thibaw. Bo Shwe (or Swè), Hla U, and Bo Po Tôk were the most notorious of these. Bo Swè who was hereditary headman of Mindat, in the Minbu district, had been a fomentor of trouble in the Thayetmyo neighbourhood long before the annexation, and had more than once been recalled to Mandalay on the representation of the British Government and then permitted to return. The pestilential jungles at the foot of the Arakan Hills afforded him a secure retreat, and the names of Ngapè, Sidôktaya and Taingda became evilly notorious from the deaths of the unfortunate detachments that were stationed there.

Bo Shwe boldly proclaimed himself King of Minbu and appointed a governor of the River Irrawaddy. He was responsible for the death of Phayre, who had been one of the staff at Mandalay withdrawn after the palace massacres. Phayre had offered a thousand rupees reward for the capture of the *Bo*, and Bo Shwe retaliated by placing five hundred on the deputy commissioner's head. Phayre attacked a fortified pagoda held by seven hundred dacoits at Padein with ten sepoys and ten police, and was shot down in an attempt to rush the position. Captain Golightly hunted the gang with untiring persistence, but the *Bo* was not disposed of till the end of 1887, when he was killed with ten followers in the Thayetmyo district, and Oktama, to the north of him, profited by this special attention to the water-logged haunts of his neighbour's band. He, however, in the end was captured, deserted and forsaken by his following a year later. Hla U was a professional robber chief and was particularly noted for his fiendish cruelties. For two years he harried the districts between the Irrawaddy and the Mu River and at one time held a fortified pagoda at no great distance from the Sagaing fort. He established a very effective system of terrorism. Village headmen who refused supplies and support and would not pay blackmail, and especially those who had submitted to the British Government, were ruthlessly murdered. Hla U himself was killed by his own people for interfering in a gambling quarrel, but the robber bands continued active under his lieutenants. Min O and Tha Pwe.

Bo Pô Tôk had been the Taingda *mingyi's* jackal and licensed freebooter in Ava, and for long paid him a handsome revenue. He and Shwé Yan made a series of bold attacks on posts in the Ava district, but from their proximity to headquarters were earlier forced to take refuge in the wild country of the Samôn and Panlang River valleys. Po Tôk was killed near Meiktila in 1888.

Besides these there were a great many who became locally notorious. There were not nearly enough troops to hold the country in 1886. Village headmen found that they were not controlled or supported from Mandalay, and either commenced to rule their districts themselves or were frightened off by dacoit leaders. The latter adopted a very simple plan. Orders were sent to all villages to supply a certain number of guns and a certain number of men to carry them, and to furnish these at a named rendezvous whenever called upon ; and to supply money as well. In this way in populous districts huge bands were collected in a very short time. Villages that had refused to comply were promptly punished ; it was only very occasionally that real attacks were made even on weakly held British posts. The dacoit bands were practically never on friendly terms with one another, and the British troops were paradoxically enough regarded merely as opposition bands. The village that refused to help or assisted any other band, whether British or Burmese, was plundered and burnt on the first opportunity. Authority was maintained against the British by organized terrorism rather than by fighting the troops. A force from two hundred to four thousand strong would collect with a certain object. When that was accomplished they dispersed. If our troops came upon them the gang melted away. They had no intention of fighting and never stood unless they were forced to. The villagers for long would not give our columns the least assistance in the way of supplies or information, sometimes for patriotic reasons ; sometimes because the bands were made up of themselves, their relatives, and friends ; sometimes because they did not want to exchange their leader for a foreign ruler whom they did not know ; and oftenest of all because they were afraid of punishment by the dacoits. Guides were specially difficult to obtain. Many were murdered, others had their ears cropped off ; the



VILLAGE ON YWNGHAE LAKE

more fortunate only had their cattle stolen and their houses burnt.

The Burman has great pride of race and an age-long reverence for royal blood. The genuine survivors of the palace massacres, therefore, had followers almost thrust upon them, and the various impostors gulled the credulous with strict adherence to Court ceremonial. Even the pretender, whose back was scored with stripes, had his "ministers of State"; royal orders were issued, scratched in proper form on tapering palmyra leaves; proclamations were issued, stamped with lion or rabbit or peacock seals (ludicrously enough, in some cases with foreign-made rubber stamps); brushwood shelters were styled royal palaces and the scrubby gangs, royal armies; a few cherished gold drinking cups, but in default of plate, they ate off plantain leaves, for royalty alone should eat off such a leaf.

The whole country was a military obstacle. None of the roads were anything but lines cleared of jungle growth, and nothing but country carts could go over them—slow going, bullock, drawn sleds—that would not capsize when one wheel was in a rut eighteen inches or two feet lower than the other. In the alluvial tracts everything was under crops, except between February and May, and the cultivation was by irrigation. In the sandy tracts of the dry zone water was not to be found for miles and then was brackish. The vegetation was thorny scrub in clumps or patches and the whole country was seamed with dry, sandy water-channels, and there was not a particle of shade. In the hilly and forest tracts wheel tracks were rare and bridle paths could only be followed in Indian file. Impenetrable jungle walled them in, but gave plenty of opportunities for ambushades. In every case the biggest band could completely break up in twenty minutes. In 1886, nothing effective was done. The Burmese compared the passage of the columns to

a buffalo lurching through elephant grass. The reeds and the dacoits closed up again immediately as if nothing had happened.

In 1887 the military force available was about 32,000 men, with two major-generals commanding divisions and six brigadier-generals, in addition to the fairly drilled and disciplined military police. The plan adopted was to send out parties from the already established posts, and to maintain communications with intermediate posts by means of constant and systematic patrols. Great use was made of cavalry and mounted infantry, which could surprise gangs by rapid movements, could outstrip spies and keep in sight and punish any parties they came across. Even in dense jungle they were able to effect much by reason of the distances they could cover. Some punishment was reasonably certain and the dispersal was more complete and demoralizing. A great deal was done in 1887 and by 1889 all the large bands were completely broken up and there was a jumble of rival leaders in the broken tracts which form so marked a feature of Upper Burma. By 1889-90 the pacification was finally completed. Nevertheless one conspicuous leader, Bo Cho, remained at large in the Pöppa Hill neighbourhood and was not finally disposed of till 1920.

The construction of the railway, prolonged from Taung-ngu to Mandalay and later carried on, on the western side of the Irrawaddy, up the Mu Valley, through Mogaung and on to Myitkyina, did much to quiet the country and certainly to check the marauding gangs. It was the custom to call all opponents dacoits, but at any rate during 1886 a very considerable number were certainly enemies of the British Government and there was as near an approach to a national rising as is possible with the Burmese. The railway did much to smother this; the disarmament of the population did still more; and the introduction of a just and reasonable admini-

stration by carefully selected civil officers, an experience the Burmese had never known, completed the work and effected the quieting of Upper Burma in four years, just half the time that had been necessary in Lower Burma after the Second Burmese War. The remorseless hunting down of mere robber gangs was balanced by clemency extended to those who surrendered voluntarily. But the process was costly, especially in military and civil officers. One officer lost his life in the advance on Mandalay. A good many score perished in ambushes and attacks on fortified positions before peace was restored, but when it came the country folk had a security which they had never known before.

The outlying dependencies were reduced at leisure and as their attitude to the new Government made necessary. There was an anomalous Shan State which lay midway between the Irrawaddy and the Chindwin. The ruler of Wuntho was called a sawbwa, but never had the status of the other Shan chiefs. He remained persistently aloof and gave protection to a variety of robber leaders and their following. When the Mu Valley railway commenced construction, he and they became actively hostile, and railway buildings were burnt and isolated posts attacked. An expeditionary force was being organized under Sir George Wolseley, when the local officers, civil and military, began operations on their own account, and were so completely successful with mere scanty levies of men mounted and foot that all resistance was practically over before the column could arrive. This dash and enterprise on the part of young officers was characteristic of the operations in the reduction of the province. When big columns marched out the rebels vanished like snow off the dyke; when a handful of men made a sudden attack they usually were as successful as an exploding bomb. The sawbwa—there were really two, father and son—fled to China, and Wuntho was formally declared

to be a part of Upper Burma. The railway and disarmament ensured an immediate and lasting peace.

Though the Limbin prince never definitely declared against British authority, the situation in the Shan States was not far off chaos. The Burmese policy had always been to play off one State against another, and they also made a regular traffic of the rulership of States. Several fugitive chiefs had been assembled in Kēngtūng, beyond the Salween, and the sawbwa of that State had compromised himself by slaughtering the Burmese garrison. The Limbin prince was adopted as their leader, more as a label than anything else, for he was a very unwarlike person. All the Burmese garrisons were recalled from the Shan States to oppose the British advance under General Prendergast. They arrived far too late to do anything but range themselves with the various pretenders, or robber leaders; but in the meanwhile old animosities found their opportunity in the hills. The fugitive chiefs came back as Limbin partisans. Those who had displaced them were naturally anti-Limbin. There were others who had wrongs to revenge, and the adventurers who came over under the Limbin flag raided indiscriminately to get food and plunder. The Limbin faction were the better prepared, and they looted and burned with considerable success and thoroughness. Their victims appealed to the British Government, more because it was established in Mandalay than because they knew anything about it, and because the Limbin supporters were doing their best to over-run all the States.

The first to submit in person was Hkun Sēng, the Sawbwa of Hsipaw. The rapacity of King Thibaw had driven him from his State and he escaped to Lower Burma in 1884. He had fits of madness brought on by disease of the eyes and the savage remedies, red pepper among others, employed by native doctors to cure him. In one of these fits he shot one of his servants. He was

tried and sentenced to death, but, as the plea of no jurisdiction was raised, he went to hard labour instead and ground wheat and did the treadmill for some time. Then he was liberated on condition that he never entered British territory again. He went to Karen-ni and, when the Third Burma War began, got support from Sawlapaw, the Red Karen chief, and with hotheads, collected on his way north, re-established himself in his State. In January 1887 he came in person to Mandalay to make his submission and was received by an escort of cavalry and a military band. Five years later he went to England and had an audience of Queen Victoria. Two of his sons received a certain amount of education in England and a grandson is a B.A. of Oxford.

The Shan chiefs were rather embarrassing in the earlier days. They took it for granted that they could kill their wives if they wanted to and, as a concession to foreign prejudices, did it with their own hands, so as not to compromise underlings. When they were put on their trial, not only they, but their brother chiefs, looked upon this as absurd fussiness.

Yawngghwe is a fertile and prosperous State and the Limbin party set about attacking it, chiefly for that reason, but also because the sawbwa refused to join the coalition. He appealed to Mandalay for protection, and in January 1887 a column under Colonel (afterwards Sir Edward) Stedman, with the late Mr. A. H. Hildebrand as political officer, marched into the hills. There was only desultory opposition, mostly by headstrong youths, out campaigning for the fun of the thing. A post was established at Maingthauk, called Fort Stedman, on the eastern slope over the sixteen-mile-long Yawngghwe Lake, and the Sawbwa of Lawksawk, the chief of the attackers, was called on to submit. His forces held a fortified pagoda on a spur half-way up to Taung-gyi, which has succeeded Fort Stedman as the headquarters of the political officer.

Saw Weng, this potentate, sent evasive answers, and his position was carried by a night attack without loss. His followers streamed back to their homes, but the sawbwa still remained stubborn and fled to Kēngtūng, whence he had come only a year before, to resume charge of his State in the Limbin's interests.

Negotiations were then opened with the Chiefs of Mōng Nai, Mōng Pawn, and others, who were the princeling's chief supporters. They wrote non-committal replies and meanwhile the States of Laihka, Mōng Kūng, and Kehsi Manhsam, which had been ravaged from end to end, had appealed, like Yawngghwe, to the British Government for support, and sent armed forces to attack the Limbin adherents, and to get food for themselves.

The British troops therefore marched to Mōng Pawn and found the sawbwa in an unpleasant position with hostile bands on the hills round his capital, burning outlying villages and firing at large. A civil officer went up to the main position of the invaders and reasoned with them. The result was quite satisfactory. A deputation came down and the Mōng Pawn chief supplied them with food on condition that they went away, which they did.

This result was so encouraging that the same officer went on to Mōng Nai, to interview the Limbin prince. His escort was small, so the princeling was not alarmed. He was a lymphatic person and little inclined for war and camping, so after formally "hauling down his flag" as a solace to his self-respect, and equally solemnly absolving the chiefs from their oath of allegiance to him, he marched back with the party to Fort Stedman and went on from there to vegetate in Calcutta, on an allowance.

In the following year columns marched through the southern and northern Shan States and received peaceably the submission of all the chiefs, thirty-seven in the south and five in the north. Everything seemed quiet

but just about the beginning of the rains in 1888, trouble was started by Sawlapaw, the chief of the independent State of Eastern Karen-ni. He had a long-standing feud with Mawksmai and swooped down upon the capital. The sawbwa fled across the Salween and the place was burnt to the ground and Sawlapaw appointed a cadet of the family to be sawbwa under him as suzerain. This emboldened a person named Twet Nga Lu, an ex-monk as his nickname indicates, who by intrigue and bribery had got himself appointed Sawbwa of Möng Nai by King Thibaw's Government, but had been expelled by the Limbin confederates and had taken refuge in Siamese territory. There he collected a band of broken men and attacked and took Möng Pan. Hkun Kyi, the recognized chief of Möng Nai, sent a force against him which was routed so completely that Hkun Kyi himself abandoned his State and fled to Möng Pawn.

All of them appealed to the political officer to restore or recognize or support them; all of them except Sawlapaw, who simply detailed his grievances against Mawksmai and said he had appointed Hkun Noi Kyu Sawbwa of the State, *und damit Punktum*.

This could not be tolerated, and a flying column went out from Fort Stedman to restore order in Mawksmai. On the way it learned that Twet Nga Lu had established himself in the Möng Nai *Haw*. What followed was a good example of the value of mounted infantry.

The column had none, but five men of the Rifle Brigade on officers' ponies, with two British officers (one of them now General F. J. Fowler), galloped at daybreak into the palace enclosure and captured Twet Nga Lu and all his *bos*, and the Möng Nai State was restored to Hkun Kyi. The rebel army faded away.

The column then went on to Mawksmai, but found that the Red Karens had gone and Hkun Noi Kyu with them. The sawbwa was re-instated and a small guard

was left. The Red Karens returned to the attack, but were beaten off, and Mr. Fowler, in his turn, proceeded against them and handled them very severely at Kantu Awn. Sawlapaw peremptorily ordered the withdrawal of the guard and there was a somewhat ludicrous exchange of letters, domineering on the part of the chief and blandly hortatory on the part of the political officer.

The Red Karens had for years carried on slave-raids far into the Shan States and had found it profitable. The Burmese made attempts to put an end to these practices, but had never been able to take Sawlôn, the Eastern Karen-ni capital. Sawlapaw thought it impregnable. On the 1st January, 1889, a party of sepoy mounted infantry killed about one in four of a band of five hundred Red Karens who thought they were going to attack. The column went on stolidly, pushed through the gorge which the Burmese found impassable, and occupied Sawlôn on the eighth day. Sawlapaw vanished, and the Red Karens have never given trouble since. Neither have the Shan States, except for occasional local ebullitions of fretful youth, or the predatory raids of trans-frontier bad characters.

The Trans-Salween State of Kěngtūng, by a great deal the largest of the Shan States, made formal submission in 1890. The settlement was complicated by the murder, a day or two after the arrival of the British party of twenty sepoy, of one of the Chinese muleteers of the baggage train. There was little doubt that the man had been shot in cold blood by the sawbwa himself. The smallness of the escort tempted further violence and there was some anxiety for a short time. Firm pertinacity, however, prevailed, and the chief determined not to use the armed men he had summoned into the town, and paid the blood money which customary law required. He also paid the "gold and silver flowers" which had been the recognized tribute to the Burmese Government; but before he died,

in 1895, this was commuted into a money payment. The chief, who goes by the title of Sao Kamawm (the Top-Knot) in his own dominions, is the premier sawbwa, and his State is important since it marches with Siam, China, and the Lao territory of French Indo-China.

The reduction of the Shan States was imperative, because of the threat of the Limbin Confederacy; because the hills gave a refuge and a jumping-off point to the various rebels and fillibusters of Burma Proper; and because China and Siam were tempted to poach and French empire-builders of Indo-China thought the downfall of the Burma kingdom offered a chance to extend their horizon. It was different with the Chin Hills on the other side of Burma. The Chins were emphatically savages. They lived by raiding, and blood feuds between villages made the country impossible for all strangers. The women of the south, in addition to a modicum of clothes, tattooed their faces with nicks and lines and dots, as an assertion of modesty, or because jealous men-folk insisted on it. The clothes dwindled to the north, until with their cousins, the Nāgas, the atmosphere was considered sufficient covering. All of them smoked hubble-bubble pipes perpetually to get a supply of nicotine for their men-folk. This was stored in gourds carried round the neck, and a mouthful was taken now and then. The habit was merely a lazy form of chewing, for the nicotine was not swallowed. After he had kept it in his mouth for a longer or shorter time, the man spat it out, possibly when he had made up his mind where next to start a raid to capture more women to cultivate his fields for him.

It was these raids which forced intervention. The Siyins and Sagylaings preyed on the Kubo Valley; the Baungshes made descents on the Yaw country; the Pashons never left Kalé in peace. They were encouraged in their forays by an "ex-sawbwa" of Kalé, who had

escaped from Mandalay and found refuge among them. Another disturber of the peace who found asylum was the Shwegyobyu "prince," whose vaccination training may have led him to pose as an expert in tattooing.

Negotiations were tried but failed. Menaces were replied to by raids, and therefore in 1888 a column marched against the northern tribes. It was a punitive expedition rather than a war. A number of villages were burnt and the Siyins were very severely handled, but the various clans hated one another too much to unite, and the jumble of hills in any case prevented it. About a couple of hundred captives were freed and Fort White was built, but was attacked by the Siyins as soon as the rains set in.

Therefore in 1889-90 there were further operations. A column marched up from Kan in the Myittha Valley and another co-operated from Fort White, and Falam, the main village of the Tashons, was the objective. The opposition met with made it seem mere correctional police work. Harassing shots into camp and ambushades were the chief features, but a post was established at Haka. The magnitude of the force, or rather its unwieldiness, was a help to the truculent rather than an excuse to the submissive. Petty trouble went on till 1896, when the Chin Hills were declared an integral part of Burma, but the chiefs are allowed to administer their own affairs, according to tribal customs, subject to the supervision of the Superintendent of the Chin Hills.

The Kachins, who call themselves Chingpaw, and are called Singpho on the Assam side, had for many years been steadily pushing south. Their original home was no doubt on the Tibetan Plateau, the "up-river" country, and they have always hated flat land and clung to the hills. Migration was forced upon them by over-population and the wasteful character of their hill cultivation. It became the custom with them for the youngest son to succeed to the *Duwa*-ship, as their headmen were named,



KACHIN MILITARY POLICE, WEARING SHAN HEADGEAR.

while the elder brothers set out with such following as they could muster to found fresh settlements. These in time were named after their founder, and this Borough English System has led to the creation of a startling number of so-called tribes, sub-tribes, and clans, due partly to the isolating character of their abrupt hills and valleys and still more to their quarrelsomeness and the system of "debts"—feuds to be settled with blood.

The pressure from the north had been steadily increasing and in the feckless days of King Thibaw became alarming. Small communities had pushed down far into the Southern Shan States and even beyond the Salween. In Northern Burma the Kachins were practically supreme. Above Bhamo no village could exist without putting itself under the protection of some chieftain in the neighbouring hills. Traders, when they were bold enough to trade, had to pay excessive blackmail. Bhamo itself had been seized and destroyed by an unholy combination of Chinese robbers and Kachin raiders, who had laughed at the futile precaution of the Burmese governor, which insisted that all Kachins were to go no farther than a series of sheds set up for their accommodation on market days, outside the town stockade. It was the regular thing for villagers to sleep in boats on the river so that they might have some chance of escape from a sudden raid.

At first the Kachins were simply curious, but when they found that their enterprise was curtailed and their avocation shackled, they passed through puzzled annoyance into active hostility and began to cut notches in the bamboos on which they recorded their "debts." The problem was much the same as in the Chin Hills, with the difference that the area was at least twice as large, with possible extension up to 29° N. Lat.; was made up of a tangle of spasmodic hills as high or higher than those on the Arakan side; and that the Kachins were sturdy and wary fighters, not skulkers like the Chins.

They had behind them a perennial supply of Chinese brigands and Chinese arms and ammunition, brought in by deserters, or traded by Chinese local officials with no principles and a strong desire for money. In addition there were various malcontents from the plains; the ex-Sawbwaw of Wuntho, father and son; the trumpery Saw Yan Naing, with his band of thrusting supporters; and most troublesome of all, the preposterous Hkam Leng, who claimed the States of Möng Leng and Möng Mit (Mohlaing and Momeik), was mistakenly and wearily recognized by the British Government and contumeliously and forcibly rejected by the States themselves; and thereafter circled about among the surrounding Kachins, quite superfluously suggesting mischievous enterprises. The Kachins were professional caterans and had no intention of going out of business. Moreover, there were continual new debt-notches in the feud bamboos.

The process of educating them was about as puzzling as laying on the hounds in a country where there are too many foxes. It can only be summarized. The first serious operations were begun at and around Mogaung, in connection with the jade mines. These were in the hands of the Kachins, and were worked by them, but there was a considerable Chinese colony, all the greater after the Mahomedan rebellion in Yün-nan shut up that route and made Rangoon the place of export. There was also the old Sawbwa of Wuntho, who had been put in nominal charge by King Thibaw, to the great indignation of the Chinese, who said it was beneath the dignity of a sovereign (for Wuntho controlled sales on behalf of the king) to compete with merchants. Four columns went out in 1888-9 under the direction of Sir George White. There was some very miscellaneous fighting, but the results were fairly satisfactory.

Then came a good deal of effervescence in the neighbourhood of Bhamo itself, particularly in the Sinkan

Valley and there were attacks and raids there throughout 1889, which went on the following year and into 1891; and about the same time there was a reconnaissance along the hills to the north and north-east, which up till then had been quite unmapped and unknown, and this made the Kachins suspicious.

In tackling the Kachins we had to deal, not with a nationality, but with groups of small independent savage communities, with no inter-tribal coherence. These hills along the Chinese frontier served as a screen for the very numerous bad characters in Yün-nan, who poured in illicit opium, spirits, and arms, and made unexpected raids on their own account. Therefore when, in 1891, disorderliness had been put an end to by disarmament, the establishment of a modest house-tax, and the issue of certificates to headmen, in the interior of the Bhamo district west of the Irrawaddy, the east side of the river was taken in hand and there were operations which lasted from 1891 till 1893. The chief fighting was round Sima, nearly due east of Myitkyina. It was reached after thirty stockades had been taken on the way. And on the same date, the 14th December, 1892, there was a sudden attack on Myitkyina, the district headquarters. The court-house and the subdivisional officer's house were burnt down and the Subadar-Major of the Mogaung levy was shot dead. It was primarily *question de jupes*, but the Sana Kachins, who carried it out, proved to be acting in concert with the Sima clansmen, and the position there became very serious. Several British officers were killed, and for a time, except for helio communication, the party was cut off. The Kachins here were Kumlaos, whose principal characteristic is that they do not own the authority of any chief, even in single villages. The earth-works and sapping operations undertaken by them created some surprise, but this they had probably learnt from the Chinese. At the taking of a formidable bullet-

proof stockade at Palap on the 31st January, eight Chinamen were found among the dead, one of whom had been an officer in the Chinese Army, and had been dismissed for misconduct.

This column experienced the heaviest fighting that was encountered in the Kachin Hills, and its work was not finished till the last week in March. The taking of Palap was really the final blow, but not before twelve hundred rifles had marched into the hills. Simultaneously there had been trouble on the Northern Shan States frontier, where local Kachins burnt Hsenwi town, and Mr. Williams, a military police officer, was killed at Man Hang by a chance shot, which so disconcerted his party that they retired, though the village had been taken.

The consequent destruction of Pang Tap, a mischievous village on the frontier ridge, served to sober down the adventurous, though till the local Chinese officials get a better grasp of their charges there is always a risk of trouble. In reports, and in their offices, they call the Kachins Yè-jên (wild men), but to their faces they think Shan-t'ou (heads of the hills) the safer appellation. There was a surprise raid by trans-frontier rapparees as lately as 1922. The Chinese local officers find it convenient not to interfere with the ways of the cocks of the hills.

The Sima operations, however, put an end to expeditions on a big scale. Even before this friendly clans had joined with us in punishing disturbers of the peace of their own race. They did this with zeal and even with enthusiasm, though the incentive was not moral indignation, but a lively recollection of "debts."

The *Kachin Hills Regulation*, besides a number of common form orders, instructed the civil officers appointed to these prickly mountain tracts to devote special attention to the settlement of these inter-tribal feuds—some of them generations old and some mere boundary

questions arising from too dense a population or too poor a soil.

For this reason the unwieldy Bhamo district was in 1895 divided into two, with Myitkyina as the second headquarters. Later still, because the work seemed unending, and irresponsible Chinese border villages persisted in bulging in, regardless of the inevitable ferment and retaliation, a new district was formed to the north. This is Putao, with an area of eight thousand square miles and a population as varied ethnologically as the English climate and as peppery as a terrier—English or Scottish. The only flat land in it is the valley in which lies the very isolated Shan State of Hkamti Lông.

The Kachins are the only temperamentally war-like race in the province. Contingents of Kachins did good service in Mesopotamia during the Great War. It was characteristic of bureaucracy to send them to a country which was not only flat, but desperately heavy-going at that. A Kachin will tell you that two miles on a flat road tires him out, but he will go all day on the steepest hills and sprint the last hundred yards. They stay as long as the Gmkha, are a great deal faster over the ground, and are his match in woodcraft.

The Karens are the third most numerous race in the province. There are not far short of a million of them, but they have never made history. The White Karens have always been stolid and heavy, and not a little addicted to drink. The Red Karens used to be slave-hunters, but since they were subdued they have become sombre and despondent rather than surly or troublesome. They do not even drink with the persistency ascribed to them by early visitors of half a century ago, when they were said to go everywhere with a bamboo full of liquor on their backs, out of which they sucked fiery spirit through a tube. Other clans are remarkable for their distressingly strict rules of endogamy., Nationally they are spirit-

worshippers and as such are much more easily converted to Christianity than the Buddhist Burmese. Both in the Second and Third Burma Wars the Low Country Karens sided with British authority, not for any particular love of us, but because they cordially detested the Burmese.

It took five years to reduce Burma to order, and the process was made possible, apart from direct action, by the establishment of means of communication. These did not exist, except as the weather permitted, during the time of the kings of Burma. The rainfall in Mandalay is not great, but the streets at times were seas of mud. For the rest of the year they were pillars of dust when a cart jolted along, and when there were strong winds, about the time of the break of the monsoons, sudden dust-storms made the sky dark at midday.

Now it is possible to go by rail from Rangoon to Myitkyina on the edge of the Kachin country. A line extends from Myingyan on the Irrawaddy to Hèho, not far off Taung-gyi, the headquarters of the Southern Shan States. Another leads up to Lashio, from where the Northern States are administered. It was intended that this line should go on to the Kun Lông ferry, and beyond the Salween to South-West China. This was the "Ambassadors' road" from Kienlûng's time down and before. In those days Kun Lông was prosperous and had a fleet of ferry boats. Thibaw's misrule and the southward stream of the Kachins put an end to this and, since British authority has been established, our neglect to administer the head-hunting Wa tribes and Chinese brigandry have prevented restoration. The railway scheme was arbitrarily countermanded, from ignorance of the facts, twenty years ago, but it should be revived, and there may yet be through carriage bookings from Mandalay to Canton, to Bangkok and to Shanghai, or Hankow for Peking.

' Cart roads are still lamentably wanting. The one long metalled road in the province, from Myingyan to Taung-gyi, has been supplanted by the railway, and has become a village to village road; and it is the same with the old Prome road from Rangoon. Elsewhere, the metalled roads—and to be all-the-year-round roads they must be metalled—are mere fragmentary snippets. The Burman is perfectly content to jolt over paddy fields, across country, or through quagmires in his primitive cart, and gives no help in the matter. One or two of the Shan chiefs have taken up road-making as a pastime, to relieve the monotony of hearing pious works read to them, marrying new wives, or disposing of the older ladies, playing polo where both sides manœuvre the ball so that the chief may hit between the posts or going out on elephants to shoot doves; but a causeway which begins and ends in a mire is no use for communication.

Even the Chinese boulder-built highways, "good for two years and bad for ten thousand," are more helpful. A good deal of this unsatisfactory deficiency is due to the fact that, under the provincial contract, the Central Government in India profited much more than Burma. The proportions of revenue allowed might have been reasonable enough for long established provinces, but they were short-sighted and injurious to a young and rapidly growing country. Steady development resulting from regular surpluses for the Provincial Government would have been much more profitable for Imperial funds.

The pacification of Upper Burma left little time at first for the determination of the boundaries of the province. These had always been rather indeterminate, and varied accordingly as Burma had an energetic ruler or a sluggard. At times the Burmese kings held more or less firmly the whole of what are now the Lao States of Siam, and well over towards Tongking, near Muang Têng (or Dien Bien

Phu), there is a peak still known as the Alanlégyet, the Four Flag Hill, where the standards of Burma, China, Annam, and Siam may have floated together, or singly when the other nationalities were away. It was very different in King Thibaw's time. Burma was rapidly shrivelling up. Half the Shan States had risen against him; Chinese filibusters took possession of Bhamo; the Kachins established themselves wherever the hills suited them. Everywhere there was shrinkage. The populations round about, with or without authority from the capitals, took advantage of the situation.

We were early forced to settle the frontier with Siam. While the Red Karens had been slave-raiding in the Shan States, they had been equally active in stealing elephants from the teak forests of Upper Siam. Enterprising thieves from that side were equally persistent in carrying off the elephants of Sawlapaw. Therefore, when that chief forced us to proceed against him, Siamese troops occupied the country east of the Salween, which had been long inhabited by Red Karens. The reason given was that they were assisting us to put an end to a nuisance.

Then the efforts of the apostate monk, Twet Nga Lu, to regain the sawbwa-ship of Mōng Nai, produced chaos in the Trans-Salween State of Mōng Pan, as well as in the Mōng Maü and Mèsahkawn dependencies of Mawkmai. There were valuable teak forests in all the areas concerned, and British interests were involved; also the chiefs of Mawkmai and Mōng Pan had made their submission to the British Government and had received sanads. They were lumpish compared with his activity; they were faddlers and Twet Nga Lu was strenuous; as far as morals were concerned there was nothing to choose between the three of them, but our feudatories had to be supported. An Anglo-Siamese commission therefore met to settle the various questions. Ney Elias was the

British commissioner and when the Siamese found that ancient history was ruled out, and cursory possession had no legality, their commissioners withdrew from the inquiry. The boundary was therefore settled *ex parte*, but it was not till 1892 that Sawlawi, the chief appointed to succeed Sawlapaw, who had turned cultivator, obtained possession of his eastern forests. Möng Pan had no trouble. The capture of Twet Nga Lu and his bravo leaders settled that incontinently; the frontier was demarcated peacefully and has been respected ever since.

The settling of the frontier with French Indo-China succeeded in 1895. This also was forced on the Indian Government. Siam became embroiled with France in 1893 and the French forced the Mènam River and dictated a treaty. Among other items, the Siamese ceded all territory east of the Mèkhong River. This produced a somewhat fantastic situation. There is a State east of the Mèkhong, Möng Hsing, which had been a vague sort of appanage of the much greater State of Kèngtūng. Sometimes it was given to the Kyemmöng, or heir-apparent, to "eat"; sometimes it disregarded Kèngtūng altogether and went its own way; sometimes it went farther and lifted cattle and burnt villages. The Siamese, in an airy way, laid claim to parts, because they had established themselves on the outskirts with nobody's permission, and, progressively, to the whole, when they had read up ancient history and pagoda cartularies. A joint commission made an inquiry on the spot, and the Myosa himself unhesitatingly claimed to be under British protection, and he was assured that he would be so recognized.

Unfortunately the Government of India had a paralytic fear of being co-terminous with French Indo-China. It was known that enterprising French explorers had penetrated to Dienbienphu and farther west; also that they were altogether unabashed and did not care a straw for pagoda, or any other musty records. Therefore, in order

to keep clear of thrusting Frenchmen, the Government of India proposed, and Lord Salisbury, who was then fully occupied in handing over Heligoland to the Germans, agreed that Mōng Hsing should be left to Siam. The Myosa was noisily disgusted, but lest worse might befall him, went down to Bangkok and swore fidelity to King Chulalongkawn. He had hardly done so, and was only on his way back, when, under the treaty with France, his State passed away from Siam, and France immediately sent M. Pavie and other empire-builders there, who draped the Myosa's *Haw* with tricolour flags.

This was very embarrassing. To do nothing was impossible and here was the Government of India confronted with the certainty of having zealous agents like M. Haas or M. Vossion on its threshold. They clutched at the suggestion of Lord Rosebery that Mōng Hsing should be constituted a buffer State. That was a characteristic, thorough-going Foreign Office idea. It hung the question up till the world had forgotten that it ever heard of Mōng Hsing. That 'Statelet as a buffer between the English and the French empires would have been about as impressive as Monaco doing buffer between France and Italy.

The result was an Anglo-French commission which ended in France getting everything she claimed, on the decision of Lord Salisbury, who had never read the despatches. This result was, however, made practically inevitable by the settlement farther north. The pursuit of suppositious "Black Flags" had led headstrong Frenchmen into Muang U, north and south. These were *pannā*, or departments, of Chieng Hūng, the so-called Sipsawng Pannā, a kind of inland Dodekanese, over which Burma had concurrent rights with China. We had never formally asserted our claims, and China had permitted the territory to become a sink for outlaws and outcasts, who harried the Frenchmen. The Chinese Government was inter-



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pellated and, as it had got into the way in Tongking of giving up suzerain claims to France, it formally ceded Muang U to the Republic.

This gave the Foreign Office its opportunity to get rid of the preposterous Decennial Mission proposition. This was a purely academical question, but tergiversation had almost converted it into a stubborn, ludicrous, fact. China was informed that since she had disposed of Muang U without reference to us and our rights, there was an end of the Decennial Mission conversations and the subject was closed. This, however, made the retention by us of Mōng Hsing impossible. The little State on the east bank of the Mèkhong would have been a mere provocative pimple. That river now forms our boundary with French territory on the easternmost confines of the Indian Empire.

The delimitation of the frontier with China began in 1898 and lasted over three seasons. It was marked by *Chinoiseries*, which are said to have prompted the "Old Buddha," the empress-dowager, to lend her countenance to the Boxer rising, but we got all we wanted. The frontier runs for the most part along detestable mountain ranges, inhabited by very irresponsible populations. It is marked out by pillars, except in the extreme north-east, where the Salween-Irrawaddy watershed is not far short of a knife-edge, and cairns would be superfluous, and the eastern wild Wa country where the murder of two English officers suggested that methodical precision was not worth the risk. The gap is regrettable, all the more because there is a rich silver mine in the jaws of it, but the Wa tribesmen present a prickly buffer and the hills are formidable.

The final disposal of the dacoits and the quieting of the outskirts left Burma in a state of peace that it had never known before, and the province has thriven correspondingly. There is no possibility of comparing the

population in Burmese times because there was no census. Our census of 1891 cannot be taken as a criterion, because there were a number of areas that could not be enumerated. In 1901 even, there were tracts which were "estimated," and there are still districts, like those of the wild Wa, which are not visited for census purposes. The total population of 1901 was 10,490,624. In 1921 the figures had risen to 13,204,760. A great many of these, however, are aliens. In 1901 those ordinarily speaking Burmese numbered 7,006,495. In 1921 there were 11,680,981 of them, but of these a good many spoke a very puzzling patois and, moreover, declined to be called Burmese.

When we first knew Rangoon in 1825 a very liberal estimate placed the population at 20,000. Ten years after the annexation (in 1863) it was 61,138. In 1901 it had risen to 234,881 and in 1921 the total was 339,527.

Mandalay at the time of the annexation in 1886 had a population (estimated by inhabited houses) of 186,000, considerably more than Rangoon at that date, but by 1921 it had fallen to 147,429. Under native rule, apart from, or because of its being the capital, it was a sort of monastic dust-heap, and a moral cesspool, as well as a trade distributing centre. The new rule and the railways have changed all this and it is not likely to revive, but on the other hand, as the northern capital, it will hardly decrease much more. There are no other towns, for Maulmein, the next largest, had only 58,366 inhabitants in 1921.

The explanation of this is that the Burman likes open fields better than flaunting streets, and is incorrigibly lazy, besides having no desire to heap up money. Rangoon is not a Burmese town at all. There are so few in the bustling streets that they might almost be taken for sightseers. There are more in Mandalay and Maulmein, but even there they live rather in the suburbs than in the town.

The various censuses show that ninety per cent. of the population live in rural areas, and that the average population of a village is no more than 157. Pastoral and agricultural pursuits occupy something like seventy per cent. of the whole, and of the remainder a very considerable percentage are aliens—Indians, Chinese, and a selection from all the nations of the East. They make all the money, and the native-born Burman may sniff, but he is neither envious nor emulous. When he gets money he makes haste to spend it all in open-handed fashion. If he is old he pours it out in works of merit as an investment towards an improved new existence; if he is young he entertains the entire neighbourhood.

The Burman is indolent by nature and intolerant of discipline, and the climate and the fertility of the soil abet him. As has been said a great many times, he (or his women-kind) tickles the ground with a hoe and it laughs with a harvest. He is the most light-hearted person in existence, and is therefore better liked than any other Oriental race by everybody, except the native of India for whom he has a most outspoken contempt, and who revenges himself by preying upon him.

. This has had two results; something like a danger of his losing his country to the plodding Chinaman and money-grubbing native of India, and the formation of an altruist Burma for the Burmans party. It is altruist from the official point of view, because the thrifty and copy-book maxim alien is much more profitable in the way of revenue. Chetties and money-lenders bought the cultivator's crops a year ahead, lent him money on his land (all the farms are small), and encouraged him to squander it on plays gratis to the neighbourhood, boat races, cock fights and trash made in Germany, and there was a danger that all the holdings would fall into the hands of strangers to the country, who sent all their money out of it. Therefore the Burman had to be protected by

Government against himself. It has not been an easy task.

Rangoon is by far the greatest rice port in the world. The Great War made Tavoy take the same position as an exporter of Tungsten. The Burma teak forests and Burma oil and Burma argentiferous galena and copper mines have made huge sums of money, but it is not Burmese enterprise that has developed them. They do not even work on their own farms. Hordes of coolies from the Madras coast and from Bengal come over every harvest time to do that for them and to load the sacks of rice in the sea-going ships. Yet they are first-rate football players, under Association rules of course—Rugby is practically impossible with Orientals—and they have an excellent eye for billiards and lawn-tennis. If they chose to exert themselves they might make much money growing cotton. Cotton has been grown and spun in the country for centuries, but it is the short staple. Government experimental farms have shown them that long staple cotton can be quite easily grown, but they will not grow it. They like the old ways best. The Burman has great pride of race and not a few have the feeling that it is a humiliation that there is no longer a Burmese king, but it is mere sentiment. The agitators who of late years have revived the old palace Shoe Question and have insisted on the removal of footgear in the precincts of the Shwe Dagôn and other national pagodas, besides proclaiming themselves "Nationalists," are paradoxically enough, really the least Burmese. Many have learnt their political methods in the West: still more in India, and it is certainly singular that the majority are not of pure Burmese blood. The Burmese girl will marry anybody, comfortable in the assurance that she can divorce an unsatisfactory husband with the minimum of trouble and formality.

Burma was created a Lieutenant-Governorship in

1897, with Sir Frederick Fryer as the first Lieutenant-Governor, and obtained a Legislative Council of its own. There was a majority of official or officially nominated members on the Council.

In 1922, as a consequence of the Reforms Act, the province became a Governorship with an elected Parliament. The first Governor is Sir Harcourt Butler and the first meeting of the reformed Legislative Council, with Sir Frank McCarthy, an old resident and newspaper proprietor, as President, was held on the 2nd February, 1923.

The people of Burma have long been the most literate in the Indian Empire. The hill peoples are naturally as illiterate as the Mujiks of Russia, but there are very few pure Burmese that cannot read and write. Unfortunately it does not go far beyond that, and the number that have studied history and political economy is strictly limited and perhaps does not include the best Burmans. It is significant that in the elections less than ten per cent, went to the poll and the parties are numerous. There are the Nationalists, twenty-one in number, the Independents, the representatives of the Karen and of the Indian, Chinese, and European communities. The early debates have been strictly decorous and, as was to be expected with the professional politicians, somewhat long-winded. The Burma constitution is more liberal than that of India. There may be a tendency characteristic of the Burma people to rush resolutions and crudely understood theories, but the experiment is a bold one and very interesting. It would have appalled Alaungpayā and the compilers of the Mahā Yāzawin. The mass of the people are certainly not ready for it, and it is difficult to say what the result will be. It is perhaps unfortunate that there are no women members.

* At the same time the Shan States were federated. The affairs of the Shan States are removed from the jurisdiction

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of the Legislative Council and an Advisory Council is constituted with a commissioner for President as the representative of the Government of Burma. The first President is Mr. C. I. Thornton, who has long knowledge of the States. The Federation is to be financed by contributions from the individual States, by grants from the Government of Burma, and by rents from forests and mineral royalties, hitherto paid to the Central Government. There are a few enlightened chiefs, but the experiment is even bolder than that in Burma.

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